

Politicall Reflections
 UPON
 THE GOVERNMENT
 OF THE
TVRKS.

NICOLAS MACHIAVEL:
 The King of *SWEDEN'S* Descent
 into *GERMANY*:
 The Conspiracy of *PISO* and
VINDEX against *NERO*:
 The Greatnesse and Corruption of
 the *COURT* of *ROME*:
 The Election of Pope *LEO* the XI:
 The Defection from the *CHURCH*
 of *ROME*:
MARTIN LUTHER.

By *FRANCIS OSBORNE*.

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THE GOVERNMENT



NICHOLAS MACDONALD

THE KING OF SWEDEN

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE

LANDS AND FORESTS

THE GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN

THE COURT OF ARMS

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE

OF ARMS

CHARLES LINNÆUS

BY J. L. L. L. L. L.

THE 18th Edition

OXFORD

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To the
R E A D E R.

SInce our blessed Saviour
drawes a Precedent for
Prudence, from the un-
just deportment of a wick-
ed Steward; and recommends to
his followers the Subtilty of Ser-
pents, with a no lesse Emphasis than
the Innocency of Doves; I trust
(in this Juncture when the Presse
groans to be delivered of the burden
she sustaines from their more seditious
and prophane Off-spring, who desire to
foment War; and Christian Magi-
strates reckon their Subjects Disobe-
dience in the heaviest Item, they ac-
count for with God, in their solemn
Humiliations,) I shall not be the worse
esteemed by men judicious and mode-
rate, for taking some choice Observa-
tions

A 2

To the Reader.

tions out of the Turkish Arcana
which garbelled & weighed according to
the true ballance of the Sanctuary, may
not impossibly mind those at the Helme
of Expedients more proper for Unity,
then have yet been employed among
Christians: where though Christ be
owned under the greatest demonstrati-
on of Selfe-denyall, yet Uncharitable-
nesse abounds, and lesse awfull Obedi-
ence is given to God's Vicegerents, in
Christian Common wealths, than the
Apostle Paul did award to infidells.
Nor doth the Church, set in the Fir-
mament of Regality for the Luminary
and direction of all Subjection due to
our heavenly and earthly Guides, keep
to her proper Sphere, if, from a Medi-
um between us and our Maker, she be-
comes a stickler in things purely be-
longing to the Magistrate, our Obedi-
ence, like that of the Catholicks, must
still stagger betwixt two Supremes.
It being impossible for the best or
worst

To the Reader.

worst of Governours to be longer in
quiet, than she is pleased to permit
them: And this apprehended by some
(better fitted and resolved for the dis-
covery of Errors, then able or willing
to mend them) they conclude, all the
mischiefs arising through the loud
Fulminations, the spirit of Contention
bath, or may have, darted out of the
Pulpit, flow from the Riches and
Splendour of the Clergie, that upon a
more serious account may be laid to the
abuse and ill-administration of their
Office and Power, which duly regula-
ted, is the wholsomest Flower in the
Crown of Government: it out-reaching
the kenn of example, to find a State
happy where the Priesthood is expo-
sed to the Peoples contempt, or Reli-
gion suffered to be weighed at the com-
mon Beam; which must needs happen,
where their Maintenance is scanda-
lous, and their Persons despicable, or
not vigorously protected by the hand of
Authority;

To the Reader.

Authority; to whom they doe, or at least might, bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or punishment. Nor would the Laity so much grumble at the payment of Tithes, were they wise enough to weigh the great advantage they have through the Churches dependance on their welfare, which would be quite lost, did their maintenance drop out of the immediate hand of the Prince, as it doth among the Turks; who are too well read in Policy, to break or dismember so usefull an Engine, because it may or might, for want of Circumspection, have bruised the fingers of those it ought to preserve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am resolved to remaine no obstinate Heretick, but to cast it at the feet of the same Authority, Providence hath set me under, and for whose sake I first took it up. And this I hope will satisfie the wise Reader; but for

Critical

To the Reader.

Criticall Fooles, the ordinary sort of Book-wormes, who, like Iron moles, discolour the sense and obliterate the naturall meaning of Authors, by their spurious and tart Censures; esteeming nothing fit to passe current, that hath not descended from their Ancestors, whose foulest blots they paint over with fairer Glosses, than they can finde colour for in the generall Ignorance (some few Pens excepted) that did then bleer the understandings of Subjects; extending in the meantime the no lesse innocent, if not more usefull moderne endeavours upon the cruell rack of a severe Scrutiny, till some pretext is found for to ground detraction upon: This, I say, cannot discourage me from prosecuting what Conscience informs me may advance Settlement, who have long been taught, that the way lies to the Paradise of Peace, through the Purgatory of Censure, which all must expect to find their

To the Reader.

Sailes fill'd with, that steere contrary to
the current of Antiquity, imagined
onely by idle Dunces, to have pinn'd
the Basket: For since this age bath the
use of their Platformes, and the same
Tooles, it lies not in my Cap to apprehend,
why it may not operate as well
and wisely. To conclude, such a
have, or doe hereafter modestly prosecute
a farther revelation of Knowledge,
ought not to be discouraged
or unwillingly employ their Talents,
as many doe that come betrayed to the
Presse, or led more by Friends Importunity,
than their owne Genius. For though their
Contemporaries serve them as the Jewes did the
Prophets, yet when Death hath laid them
out of the reach of Envy and personal
Contempt, Posterity shall not only com-
miserate the Cruelty of that neglect
they lay under in their life-time, but
build Monuments to their Immortal
Fame.

The



THE
 TURKISH POLICY:
 OR,
 OBSERVATIONS
 UPON THE
 Government of the TURKS.



NOT to ascend the highest step of the *Turkish Pedigree*, (whose primitive Actions, no lesse then those of the *Goths*, lye buried in the rubbish, their huge *Vastations* have formerly made through the *Easterne Empire*, and since in that of the *West*, upon the score of whose eternall reproach, they keep their Royall Port in the Emperiall City:) I shall only observe the prudent Deportment of *Mahumet* (owned by all for their *Founder*) without taking more notice of his, or their extraction, then what may serve to illustrate the following Discourse

A S

course, projected rather to delineate the wise *Track* he hath chalked out to his successors, and what exact followers they have been of it (which few have done) then the Deeds themselves, usually found scored at the end of every street: Though, I believe, with great Partiality, and many Omissions, in relation to the Shame and Terror they have brought upon *Christendome* (through the division of whose Princes they have attained this grandure) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want *Pens* of their owne to register their *Stories*; In which this *Emperour*, no lesse then his successors, have been still defective: Yet he that considers what hath followed, cannot take it for an hyperbole, to say, the main difference between *Alexander, Caesar, and Mahomet* consists in a *Feather*, or the *Quill* of a *Goose*.

2. He had the happinesse to set up under a most auspicious *juncture*; the greatest Politicians then extant, being more employed in moulding an *Ecclesiasticall Monarchy*, and mending the *Rents*, the *Schismatics* of those times had made in the *Church*, then in improving any temporall



porall Power, or raising banks, that might stop such an inundation, as so great a Snow-ball was likely to cause upon the face of that Earth, where ever it came to refund.

3. *His Followers* were owners of no vaster *Understandings*, then might render them plyable to *Labour* and *Discipline*: Who being of a brutish and wilde employment, did not only undergoe the *hardship* of *Warre*, but were ready to yeild all awfull Obedience to such marks of *Worship*, or religious Observations, as he was pleased to impresse upon their yet unfoborned imaginations: Not so easily obtained from *acuter heads*, who are apt to pretend a sufficiency in determining the truth or falshood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unquestioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all new *Legislators*, because known so pernicious to established Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the *promoters* of *Sedition*, are seldome found to take horse at any other block, then what they perceive the People aptest to stumble at, in relation to *Gods Worship*: No Colony having been observed far to dilate it selfe, that held not at least:

least so long constant to *one Profession in Religion*, till Time and Successe had eſtated them in a power able to reſiſt any Enemy; by nothing eaſier brought about, then a confident *Report of ſome Miracle*, which once riveted into the Opinion of the People by Cuſtome and Education, cannot after be removed, without the hazard of all. This made him profeſſe a daily *Commerce with Angels*, and pretend, the terrible *Fits* incident to his *Dif-eaſe*, as *holy extaſies*, in which God did mind him of the way and meanes, how to lead his People. And according to this Patterne, a *Law* was founded, ſo ſuitable to the higheſt Taſte of humane Senſuality, and obvious to a carnall apprehenſion, that it was ſwallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure *Will of God*, and he looked upon as his moſt holy *Prophet*. To the advancement of which *Beliefe* their *Ignorance* did mainly contribute, ſound by experience the ſtrongeſt aſſertor of what ſhe confidently believes, though in it ſelfe never ſo improbable. And after ſome farther commerce had thoroughly eſtated their Conſciences in this perſwaſion, they grew zealous, that is, affectionate, and

and desirous to propagate where ever they came, such opinions as their Governors had contracted them to, out of no higher sanctity at first, then to keep them entire and chaste in their worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Profelites of this new Prophet checked, in the earnestnesse of their pursuit after *Empire* by the confluence of contrary Accidents, and the number of rubbs the unsteady hand of so contingent a VVarre, could not choose but cast daily in their way; but the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, then any stop to the unjust encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and so, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better ease and advantage of themselves. Or if any crosse event was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it onely concerned their *Remisnesse* in the intended *Workes of the Lord*, which was to spoile others, and enrich themselves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who
have

have the Art to draw encouragement from the best or worst of successes: For through the clashing of these *contrary events*, *Mahomet* kindled such a blinde zeale amongst their over-heated Ignorance, as it consumed all before them, without the least consideration had of things Sacred or Prophane.

5. And to preserve this child of his Ambition from being stifled in the swadling cloathes, through an overlaying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence to the crushing of such designs, had they not been rendred deafe by the janglings between the *Greek & Latine Churches*) he gathers the chiefest ingredients of his *Institutes* out of the Gardens, both of the *Jewish and Christian Religion*: Leaving his *Sectarists* in grosse to their more loose and acceptable primitive *Heathenisme*; inserting few *Novelties*, but what respected his own person, which he doth not stile a God, though he arrogates to himselfe a Supremacy over all his Propbers.

6. Yet did he not only forbid the use of *Images*, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moses* (who by that bred such a hatred

ted in the *Jewes* against all Nations, as hath kept a considerable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reason of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impossible, if a Nation once attaines an universall prudence, but that the deceitfull *knack* of such a carnall adoration must needs grow loathsome, or lye obvious to their Re-proofe, that shall make it their tull employment to finde faults; and after an opportunity is easily gained, to foment a change, by discovering to the people *absurdities* in their *Worship*; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the onely invisible and omnipotent *Creator*, whose Nature and Power is so far remote from the weake apprehensions of men, as the sharpest reason is not able to batter a Faith built solely upon it.

7. And by this prudent election, he hath so far prevailed against the corruption of *Innovation* (a Rust all other Professions have contracted in lesse time) as no considerable *Schisme* hath yet broke out amongst them: For that between the *Turke* and *Persian*, lies rather in the *Genealogie of their Prophet*, then the body of

of the Beliefe he first founded. At which time, lest Novelty and want of Proofs should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he ownes for the Father of himselfe and his Followers, giving a no lesse honourable Character of *Christ* and his Mother, to please the *Christians*, then of *Moses* to amuse the *Jewes*; yet hath no milder design, then the destruction of them both. And by this universall compliance, he rendered his detestable Errors more glib to the wide swallow of that *Ignorance*, the world did then gape withall; The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestion'd a beliefe, as that of the *Jew* or *Christian*, whom they looke upon as owners of more improbable Opinions, then theirs, and lesse tending to the honour of that universall Goodnesse, which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks Sabbath*, no lesse then the *Jewes*, was without doubt instituted, to give a comfortable relaxation to the poor *Brast*, as well as *Slaves*, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Egypt* worse then death it selfe.

selfe. Therefore he derives the Institution of the *Sabbath*, from the mouth of God, to be of no lesse antiquity then the Creation. And on this day men were suffered to doe no labour, but to keep a *holy rest unto the Lord*: by which a *Terror* was strook into the contemnners of the *Law*, and a great *Love* and mutuall *Confidence* infused among *Neighbours*, no small promoters of Conquest; such standing closest in time of danger as are of nearest relations in Religion and Friendship: Besides, these *weekly meetings* doe much civilize a Nation, satisfying no lesse the mindes of the *zealous*, then they moderate the Passions of the *Factions* and *Disobedient*, by the great allay received from the solemn *Devotion* observable in their *Priests*, who use such humble prostrations, and catching *Ceremonies*, in the exercise of their *Divine Rights* (which yet admit of noe scandall, because prosecuted in suit of noe *Representation*, but to the imploring of the onely omnipotent God, in whose service all things are to be employed, as such are terrified into an *Obedience* of the *Law*, out of a future *Feare*, that could not else be restrained

strained by a present secular danger, or after-hope; Imagining a number of possibilities to hide that from *Men*, which nothing is able to cover from the sight of *God*.

9. Of such vast concernment is a grave and prudent *Clergy* to well-being, though of late much slighted among some sort of *Christians*, not so wise as to observe that the *Eye* for the most part, is caught before the heart, and that *Austerity* and *Reverence* in externall *Worship* (if devested of all advantages else) cannot be denied to have a huge operation upon *Obedience* to the civill *Magistrate*. It being unlikely, that such as take *Decency* in *Divine Worship* for *Idolatry*, should not soon be worne out of *Reverence* to their *Governours*, since the most destructive *Parity* begins alwaies in the *Church*.

10. No *Law* is more intent upon the *Honour* and *Profit* of *Monarchy*, then the *Turks*: For though a *Munk* had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahumet* was so skilfull as to season it to his own palate. Neither were many *Christian Princes* lesse absolute at first, then he, till their *Subjects* by *Money*, *Importunity*, or
Armes

Armes had moderated their power, which we doe not finde this Nation ever went about; *Servitude*, by use, becoming a second nature: But, had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by such a Composition of Estates, wherein the Priesthood had made the principall Ingredient, for Wisdome, if not Authority, it is very possible they might have more related to Religion; which, like the *Indian Fig-tree*, is of so vast an extent, as it hath been able, not only to harbour an Host of *Church-men*, but their Bag and Baggage, together withall the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ransacking the more tender Consciences of *Dying men*; as is apparent in *Rome*; and might have been the same at *Mecca*, had he not prevented it by a choicer prudence, then our *Emperours* have formerly contributed to their affaires.

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that the approach of Ruine or Slavery to a Nation, is visible at first in a too Rich or Meager Face of the Church. That Causing a Consumption, by sucking too much from the Estates and Power of the

the *Laitie*; as *This* doth a *Feaver*, by putting all into a present hazard, under the destructive pretence of an over-heated zeale. The same counsell being necessary to all Princes, in relation to *Religion*, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is said to receive from his Father, when he undertook the conduct of the *Horses of the Sunne*; The *Church* being a *Planet* of that nature, that if it soar too high, it choaks *Virtue* and *Sanctity* in the superfluous *Ceremonies* she is apt to produce, which, like too much paint, adulterates the face of *Truth*: but if she be kept too low, it doth not only burne and consume all superfluous excrescencies, but *Decency* and *Order*; Allayes, without which we can have no *Uniformity* in a religious commerce: Since the *Mysteries of our Salvation* cannot be presented to us but in *Earthen Vessells*, from whence if they did not retaine some tincture, we could not so naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiscreet zeale doth so farre participate of the qualities of the *Aire* over-heated, that it hatcheth the *Plagues of Rebellion*, wherever it is found, pretending their *Prince* negligent in *Religi-*

en, or too exorbitant in his affection to *Court-Minions*, or an infringer of the *Law*, and obstructor of *Justice*; weapons of *Sedition*, easily forged, if not found to lye ready before the Gates of the best of Kings; which subtrill men snatch up, and put into the hands of such, as they have formerly intoxicated with a desire of *Reformation*, who seldome give over, till they meet their owne ruine, or the States.

12. If *Mahumet* exceeded the Commission of Discretion, in swelling his *Alcoran* to so large a volume, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the same plenty, *Ambiguities*, among Divines as Lawyers) Yet he provided against this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-past error is capable to admit, in prohibiting the *Reading* of it, to any but the *Priest*, and the *Interpretation* to all but the *Mufty*. For though the *Jewes* were enjoined to score the *Commandements* on the *Walls*, as they did weare them after written on their *Cloaths*; Yet none but the *High Priest* was suffered to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, or make any neer approach into the innermost place of the Temple.

Temple, from whence the *Oracles* did proceed.

13. Neither is it a slight occasion of the *Turkish Unity*, that their *Alcoran* lies patent to the *Exposition* of none but *their owne Pope*; And that *Petitions to God* are frequenter made among them than *Exhortations* or *Sermons* to the *People*: Because by the first they are humbled, through the repetition of their sins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the ostentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may passe in no worse sense then it is uttered) in *Praying* we begge something of God we need, in *Preaching* he seems to demand Obedience from us, which no reasonable creature will think he can want. To say truth, the frequency of *Preaching* (to avoid the tedious repetition of the same things) hath created such a *Familiarity* between us and our Maker, and a Feud against all that serve him not our way, as some take the boldnesse to predicate, He cannot doe this or that, limiting his Mercy so far as to exclude from Salvation not onely the *Turkes*, but all the rest of the world, so small a spot excepted, as

a Flye may cover in an ordinary *Globe*. Doe not these vaine pleaders give the *Devill* more then (I hope) is his due? contrary to the verdict passed by God himselfe, who saith, *The Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is*, without excepting those many and vast Territories, too happy, rich and faire, to be let out to the Prince of Darknesse, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the world.

14. The whole scope of the more charitable *Turkish Doctrine*, concludes in these *Uses*; The Honour of God, Obedience to their Prince, *Mutual Love*, Resolution in Warre, with an invincible Patience in bearing all terrestriall wants: The last, as a Hoop, compassing the rest, by which they are rendred the tightest Vessells against Sedition, and the aptest to retain all things necessary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to strengthen this eye upon the Subject, all hope of perfect *Happinesse in this world* is suppressed, and their Imaginations wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the feare of lapsing into grosser *Idolatry*, or profounder

founder *Atheisme*, is prevented; being bred only in expectation of *Misericordie* here, and so more guilty, then sensible of that ridiculous folly *David* so much upbraids them with, that consume time in the service of *Gods*, that have neither *Eyes* to see, *Eares* to hear, nor *Wills* to help such as pray to them: For this *Stupidnesse* once found in That we have been taught to make the *Object* of our worship, and joyning forces with the *Afflictions*, that do ordinarily attend the Best, and the *Blessings*, not observed to baulk the most *Impious*; This, I say, doth often hurry such as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourn'd beyond the extent of a small Faith, into wretchlesse *Infidelity*, or which is worse, a low and despicable opinion of their *Maker*; avoided by the *Adahometans*, who look for no remoter causes of *Afflictions*, then what result from personall miscarriages, or the will of those in Authority; assigning their *Maker* an higher employment, then the attending or accomplishing our earthly desires, which if attained, they might possibly hinder us from greater in *Heaven*, to which this world is but a trouble.

reduced

some

ome and dark passage. Nor can the *Turks* revarications, upon a most partiall Scrutiny, bear that stresse of wickednesse, the more seared consciences of some *Christians* doe daily endure; manifest in the *French Massacre*, the foulnesse of which story hath not yet been matched by *Mahomet*, or any of his disciples, never found to have borne such bitter fruit.

But not to insist upon the Equity or Reason of their *Law*, it gives them (as the Priests manage it) a satisfactory pretence, to esteem all waies decent and consonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire: Not questioning the *Quarrell*, no more then the future happinesse of such Soules, as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they desire the *Pope* to catechize his most Catholick Son, How he came by *Portugall*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily* &c. And what warrant he is able to produce, from the *Avenger of Blood*, that might authorize him to shed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more serious occasion, then Gold, & the Conversion of the people into slaves to dig it? Can there be a ranker Indignity

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offered

offered the Lord of Hosts, then to set up his *Standard* in so vast and sanguine a field of Ambition, and the *Cross* of his Son in a greater *Golgotha*, then that wherein he was Crucified? And all this under pretence of *Religion*, as if God were lesse jealous of the honour of his Church, then the *Priests* were of their *Temple*, into the verge of which they would not admit the price of blood, much lesse then can the Judge of all things accept the persons of those that shed it.

16. The awfulnessse the Turks bear to the name of God is so great, that they dare not employ the paper wherein they find it written, to any base office, but leave it hid in a hole, to the farther disposure of the Owners Providence, And therefore possibly not so likely as *Christians* (who observe no such decency) to call it to the witnessse of an untruth; much to the advantage of *Governours* there, as it might be in *Christendome*, did Custom or Law screw the peoples minds up to as high an esteem of it. Neither would this lessen, but encrease the benefit *States-men* make by dispensing with its abuse, which is now

so often and grossly practised, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the *Example* of their *Kings*, then the *Doctrine* of their *Teachers*; and might, (if any apparition of Justice or Religion were extant in their *Governors*) have their *Passions*, as the *Turkes*, stirred up to approbation or dislike, proportionable to the more or lesse dismall relations their *Priests* read to them out of their *Mahumetan Legend*; so much the more excusable, because the awe borne to these (though but) *Fictions*, do help to spare the more ungratefull Rod, the too frequent use of which, hath in all times produced more Fear then Love.

17. This proves, *A false Religion* doth contribute more to safety, then *Atheisme*, or a stupid neglect of all *Worship*; and that a *Clergy* is of excellent concernment, provided they keep a close in their *Doctrine*, to *Reason of State*; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Interest, by nothing so easily *biased*, as comfortable *Living*s, and severe *Deaths* or punishments, in case their exhortations goe contrary to the grain of the *Civill Government*;

whose Administrators have not so much
cause to complaine of the *Church-men* for
their recoyling, since, by their frequen
setting them upon the people, they taught
them at last to worrey themselves: Their
Tongue, like a Sword, being as well able
to wound one side, as another, & move
according as it is inclined by profit or
feare: Neither can any breach they have
formerly made in the affaires of their Pa
trons, disparage the *Calling*, more then
it doth a *piece of Ordinance*, that being lost
through imprudence, and miscarriage,
doth after batter down the house of her
Founder; since all their Fulminations
rend that way, to which the Hand that
fills their Bellies is pleas'd to direct them,
there being none easier warped then
they, nor more violent assertors of what
their own Wisdome or the worlds Folly
hath given them leave to call *Theirs*, as
were easily deducible from their frequent
changings; which gives me the boldnesse
to beleive, that if all, which is without
question the *Churches*, were restored, and
the dignity of their Tenents and Calling
vindicated, the truly honest would com
ply with any Government, out of Con
science,

science, and the rest batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such as look upon the *Mahumetan Profession*, as of the grosser alloy, because so far subservient to worldly *Policy*, that the *Grandees and Priests*, like Juglers, carry the coale of zeale only in their mowthes, not being heated themselves with what they goe about to enflame others, suffering their Threats and Promises to rise no higher, or fall no lower, the suits with the politick reaches of the Prince; may find other *Courts* standing as prophane a posture, especially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Megazeen, from whence the rest of the world is supplied, with Wisdome, shall I call it, or Deceit) where *Church-men*, like *Burning-glasses*, cast the Rayes of a Celestiall Fire into the Consciences of others, carrying in the meane time, themselves, a Cold, Christalline, & Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to reforme the People; taking upon them a publick cure of *Soules* out of a no more religious respect then to provide against their private wants, yet connived at here, as well as by all wise Princes else; because

Law can promote no *Good*, nor prevent *Evill*, but what is open to publick cognisance; whereas *Religion* penetrates so low, as to erect a Tribunall in every mind, where *Imagination* sits, like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge she hath been taught from *Power*, *Custom*, and *Education*; which, through the compunction of a tender *Conscience* doth so rack the most intrinsick thoughts of all prepossessed with the dread of a future account, as they doe not feldome confesse themselves guilty of such heinous offences, as none else are able to accuse them for, expecting more ease from the sentence of the publick *Magistrate*, then they can find in their private *Consciences*, which daily excruciate them with the terrors of *Hell*, and the losse of *Heaven*. To conclude, by the heat of *Religion* many *Vertues* are hatched, and more *Vices* stifled in the shell.

18. Yet little is observable in the *Rites* of *Mahomet*, that is Chargeable to performe, or grievous to the Nature of the Man; Perhaps the cause why *Sacrifice* is not taken in, amongst the number of things borrowed from the *Jews*; as think-

ing it incongruous with a Divine Essence,
to be appealed or delighted by the losse
and blood of poor Creatures, incapable
of the Will or Power to transgresse;
Though the inclination to Oppression,
Covetousnesse, and Cruelty, is no more a
stranger to their natures, then ours;
which proves *Sin an effect of Law* and
constraint, rather then of Liberty, or Na-
ture: but *the People of God* had a higher
Prospect from these bloody Ceremonies,
then the dark mist about *Mahomet* wou'd
suffer him, or any other out of the true
Church to apprehend; else VVolves, and
not Sheep, had furnished their Altars.
Neither did this new State Founder be-
lieve, any merit could reside in a volun-
tary *Maceration*, or persecution of our
Bodies (as if the most mercifull God,
confessed to have prepared in future all
celestiall beatitudes for those that love
him, should for the present so farre di-
vest that nature, as to delight to see us
miserable:) which makes me think, that
the putting out of their Eyes before the
Tombe of their Prophet (now in use among
them) to prevent the sight of any thing
after, and the wearing of such huge and
B 4 pain-

painfull *Rings* in the most tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any Institute of his, but are rather Bastards of the *Church*, reputed for nothing more justly *the Whore of Babylon*, then for burning her Profelytes with such exorbitant zeal as the *Anchorites* and *Monks* are led by when they *Whip* and *Stigmatize* themselves, out of hope to purchase Heaven. A lunacy superlative to theirs, who lend money in this world, upō humane security to be paid in the next by God himselfe. No waies suitable with this Fōunders Philosophy, who would have it thought lesse Blasphemy, with *Plutaroh*, to acknowledge no God at all, then to imagine him owner of such Passions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Essence.

19. **T**He totall *Abstinence from Wine* is the most materiall Sacrament of the *Turks*. Obedience to *Mahumets Law*. Now least any should passe it, as a lesse pertinent piece of Prudence, then really it is, I desire those that take more delight in condemning then acquitting the actions of *Antiquity*, to suspend their Judgements, till these Reasons are weighed.

I. He wat not so poor a Naturalist, as not to know, *Wine effeminates*, no lesse then enervates the body of Man; the cause, *Sampsons* Mother, together with himselfe, abstained from it; otherwise he might (by the Witch, his Mistresse) have been as easily charmed into Drunkenesse as Sleep: For though it may, not unpossibly, conjure up a present furious Resolution, it was never yet fam'd for a friend to the Habit of valour.

II. It is a Sworne *Enemy to Discipline*; rendring the most obedient Souldiers, during that Distemper, deafe to all necessary words of Command.

III. *Wine dries the Braine by Nature, & besides, by Accident, informes the Understanding*; through the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with men of different Judgments: And so might have easily called up acuter Spirits, and caused a stricter *Scrutiny* into the *Miracles, Life, and Procedure* of their *Legislator*, then an infantine Power was able to correspond for: There being no humor so bad, but this strong liquor is able to make worse and inflame, by representing miscarri-

ages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellowes, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in so weak Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimeras, they, like *Sampson*, snatch up the most improbable weapons, which they doe, not seldome, employ in almost as miraculous successes.

IV. The *Transparency* of *Drunkennesse*, able to conceale nothing to its owne Shame; And *Flexibility* to all things, rather then Reason.

V. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and so not likely to find *Wine* alwaies at hand, it could not have layn in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated & religious Injunction, to have kept such an untutor'd Rabble within the compasse of moderation, when ever they had met with it: Not seldome *the Fate of Armies*, who upon such disadvantages, have been all cut off by far inferior Powers, being themselves first overcome by *Drinke*.

VI. To end this Digression, in which more might be said, *Wine* could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour

bour they must needs encounter in the rough way leading to so high Designs.

20. Not to presume to vie Instances with the people of the *Jewes*, who besides the prudence of *Moses*, had the unerring Spirit of God, to direct them in all emergent occasions (which, by the way, renders their frequent *Grumbings* no lesse prodigious, then blasphemous) I find few Nations more constant to their Founders *Aphorismes*, or that give lesse way to a refining, by the agitation of experiences drawn from a confluence of differing events, then the *Turke*; for which he stands obliged to his own firme *Constancy in Religion*, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his most signall Conquests: it being impossible to shake this Tree of *Paradise*, but to the prejudice of the Prince in possession, and benefit of such subtil Serpents as desire to supplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner instigation, then an absolute Necessity: For though the *Change* of an opinion that is ancient may stop a leake for the present, it breeds such a worme, as doth cause a perpetuall Colick in the State: Apparent

rent in *France*, where the *Queen Mother* fomented the *Protestants*, to maintaine her *Regency*, and could never after be free from the danger of *Civil War*. This makes me wonder to find *Toleration of Religion* so common an Article in the Transactions of Princes; Since it no way futes with the complexiō of Prudence to palliate a present defect by such a *Recipe*, as may breed for the future an incurable *Disease*.

21. Yet because many *Customes* passe current in the *Minority of Power*, would prove childish and defective in a more *Settled Condition*, and after Posterity is swelled to so considerable a bulk, as that the most numerous part may be allowed to exchange *Battleaxes* and *Swords* into *Shares* and *Pickaxes*; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but something should be wanting in relation to so vast an *Empire*, no lesse terrible to the Eare, then admirable to their Eyes, have seen it; A Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their first *Founder*, as it transcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deserves, in my opinion, more Commendation, for foreseeing so much, then blame, in omitting

Provisions

Provisions against such accidents, as none but a *Prophet* indeed could be ever able to presage: Many Carriages being necessary to the *Sword*, are superfluous, if not destructive, when the *Scepter* is obtained: The first intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the Preservation of Subjects and Friends.

22. VWhereupon his Successors finding that though the *Keyes of the Church* can hang nowhere so quietly, as at the *Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moses* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater lustre to the beames of *Religion* (esteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far lesse pure in Secular Vessels, then those set wholly apart for the worship of God) And to have withall a favourable *Umpire* of a seeming more indifferent & sanctified allay, ready to compose any *Discontents*, that might be fomented between the *civill Power* and the *Subject*, either through others Ambition, or their own Oppression, not unlikely to result from so absolute a Jurisdiction; A Religious man, call'd the *Musfy*, is set up, whose *Habit* is *Green*, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahumet* are suffered to
weare

weare, of which number he is alwaies supposed to be one. Now the better to enable him to strike an awfull Reverence into the People, in case a milled Zeal should melt them into *Divisions*, or a colder Licence freez them into a chill *Atheisme*, the *Emperour* honours the *Majesty* publick, with the highest reverence and most solemn *attention*, Denying him nothing he dare aske, No Malefactor being suffered to dye, hath the fortune to see him or be seen by him as he passeth. The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occasions, next the *Throne*, where, by his publick *Gestures*, he acts a lively and terrible dread of those Crackers, that containe no other Sparkes of a celestial fire, then what resides in true *Reason of State*, or the *Art of Governing* to the best advantage for Prince and People.

And though this *Circumcised* Poppe yeilds an infallible obedience to all the *Emperour* inspires him with, yet being rarely seen the Generality reverence him as if they apprehended something about him more then humane. And let our new Politicians practise what they please, Experience

experience hath made it sufficiently manifest, that *A too prostituted Familiarity needs contempt*, not only in things civill, but Divine. Now such as think the Prudence, absolutely necessary to the Conduct of humane affaires, uselesse in those relating to Heaven, may be out: For since *Miracles*, and the audible voice of God is silent, nothing is so likely as a *Sanctified Policy*, to retaine a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintaine so much Probity, as is requisite in a generall Commerce to keep us from murdering one another upon the instigation of Covetousnesse and Revenge. Therefore the way for *Prince* and *Priest* to be thought more then men, is to doe nothing unworthily, say nothing unproperly nor weare any thing undecently.

23. The Turk in this is happy, that the *Musty* his *Pope*, no lesse then *Meca* his *Rome*, are within the reach of his power, so as he is not to seek for the *Oracles of Religion* out of his owne Territories: Denied by custome to the most considerable part of *Europe*, whose Princes are regulated by the *Popes* Inspirations, not only in things concerning God, but what else

else may be fetched in, by his Pastoral Crook (*In Ordine ad Spiritualia.*) And lest this absurd proceeding should be exposed to a generall Reformation, the Bishop of *Rome* tolerates all *Incestuous Matches*, and other base and unjust actions, Princes desire to have indulged, for feare, like *Hen. the 8.* they should do it of themselves. The consideration of which makes them beare the heavy weight of so heavy *Ecclesiasticks*, who scarce acknowledge any obedience but to the Sea of *Rome.*

24. Though the *Turkish* Court no lesse then the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the *Musky*, the highest Bird in this earthly *Paradise*; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true *Dialect of State*, he is straight unperched: It having been long observable in this Empire, That, neither *Friends*, *Money*, *Sanctity*, *Love of People*, former *Desert*, or any present need of the persons accurate *Parts*, were ever found Antidotes sufficient to expell the poyson of the *Emperour's Jealousy*, who esteemes no number of *Lives* (though never so innocent) equivalent with

with his safety, or the Nation's. Yet if
 And this *Holy man* comes to his death by an
 e unnaturall *Obstruction*, the honour of his
 the place is so far from receiving diminution
 by it, that his body goes to the Grave
 with the lest aspersion to his *Fame*, his
 Life being rather commended: So as his
 Successor mounts into his Chaire un-
 tainted with any Prejudice, which *Chri-*
 stians contract to their *Popes* or *Patriarchs*
 by the errors they discover after their
 Deaths; The cause, such as succeed are
 not in so great esteeme, as their Offices
 require, Thought capable to be tainted
 with the same faults, their Predecessors
 were owners of; not here imagined, be-
 cause the *Musty*, how ill soever he de-
 served of *Church* or *State*, is registred a-
 mong their *Saints*; in which appears the
 highest point of *Policy*, it being unlikely,
 any should *question* the truth of his *Judg-*
ment, when he is in being, whose *Acti-*
ons they dare not arraigne after he is
 dead. And for his *Removall*, it passeth
 without the least notice given to, or takē
 by the Generality, who are otherwaies
 employed, either in caressing their plu-
 rality of *Wives*, or dispatching the busi-
 nesse

ness necessary to their *Professions*: Abominating us *Christians* for walking to no more profitable an end, then to talke of *News*, &c.

25. This discourse of the *Musfy's* dispatch may afford some room, by the way to enquire into the justice of *Clandestine Deaths*; a *Custom* with the *Mahumetans*, but such an one, as I hope never to see concocted into a more generall practice among us: yet observing how our *Chronicles* lie overflowed with such vast Oceans of Bloud, spilt upon no more urgent and publick necessity, then what relates to the ends and ambition of a single person, I will venture to say of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, That a *Physitian* or a *Felton* may be cheaper employed, then an *Army*, and with lesse prejudice to the good of the *Generality*, Voted by all Right and Reason, the *Supream Law*; And for whose Salvation *Innocency* himselfe was willing to dye: For where the sole power of Life and Limbe resides, as it doth here, in the breast of the Prince, under the warrant of an uninterrupted *Custom* (the malice making the *Murder*, and not the blow) I cannot think

think it so heinous a Crime, that, in case a Subject hath justly forfeited his Life to the Safety, or but the conveniency of the People, it should be taken the most advantageous way, to make the better compensation for the damage, it had or might have brought to the publick: A private execution being esteemed here no more Murder, where the cause is just, then one made publick is able to expiate the blood of an Innocent.

I know, so many Inconveniencies lie in the way of this Custom, as it appears too unwieldy to be managed without danger by a single person, whose Judgement cannot be so clearly separated from passion, as meerly to intend his Countreys preservation, without the mixture of some gall of revenge; A candor not possibly to be found in the State of Venice, by nothing so long preserved in being, as a Custom they have sometimes to make away their greatest Senators upon no stronger evidence, then what meer Suspicion brings in against them, preferring rather the cutting off a Limbe, in which appears the first Symptomes of Putrefaction, then to hazard the whole body

body by an incurable *Gangreen*. But whether the dammage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the consequence, cannot be easily resolved; Since *Princes* and *Statesmen* carry often such pernicious humours, as they convert that into a *daily practice*, which, like *David's* eating the Shew-bred, is only permitted in case of *Necessity*.

26. *Queen Elizabeth*, in other things the best consulted Monarch that ever filled the *English* Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in using the *Hangman* at the death of her sister *Mary of Scotland*, then if she had employed all the *Mountebanks* in *Europe*: For though *Princes* stand as neer the Grave as other Mortals, in relation to *Diseases*, no lesse then *Desert*; Yet the hand of *Justice* cannot decently appeare in their Executions, without debauching the Majesty of her own Power; *Princes* being esteemed the mouth of the Law. Now since the *Councill of England* were too pious or hypocriticall, to use the *Fig* in the sence of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and other Nations, celebrated for more wisdom, they might under

under an higher repute of Sanctity have spared the *Leaves*, and not laid the fault on poor *Davison*, that did nothing but by Commission, an Apron that discovered more shame then it could possibly hide; All looking upon it, not only as the desire, but the act of the *Queen* and her *Councell*, who by this publick procedure dilated the reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeale to all not indulgent to a *Form of Justice*, though never so ridiculous, who obligeth his Prisoner most; he that takes away the *irksome Ceremonies*, Dishonour and Expectation of *Death*, or he that accumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is *Murder* in a *Chamber*, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a *Scaffold*, where nothing but *Death* and her attendants appear.

27. But to returne to *Turkey*. It lies not out of the way of possibility, but that the *Grand Signior*, in regard of his abundance of *VVives*, may have two, or more *Children* at one and the same time: Therefore to break the neck of all Disputes, apt to result from contrary claims, the *Emperour* in fact strangles all the rest; a confest tyranicall Tragedy, not to be heard

heard without detestatiō, yet we fear too often acted among *Christians*, else the Line of the *Catholick King*, no lesse then that of *France*, and those smaller ones in *Italy*, might long since have choked their Felicity in a crowd of *Rebellions*: Neither need I end here, were it my designe to exceed the Counterpane by home-borne examples. Yet such a *Querie* may be seasonably made, If the good of all (as I said before) be the *Supream Law*, and grounded upon that of *Nature*, whose chiefe businesse is to intend the preservation of the whole, without any nicer relation to particulars, then to place or remove them according as they suit or bring profit to the generall occasions, a duty all are born to; why should such be blamed as take the most probable waies to promote peace, & stop the *Posterne gates* of the *Court*, by which more dangerous *Wars* enter, then do ordinarily proceed from the *invasions* of *Strangers*? And here, by the way, we may note, That *Republicks* have not such *impulsive causes* to shed innocent blood, as *Kings*, especially after that *Sluce* is stopped, which the most for their preservation are forced to let run at first, till the

State

state is reduced to an wholesome Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured

28. Nothing is penall by the *Laws* of this Nation, but what is alwaies, or, at least for the present, destructive to the well-being of the Prince or People: By which the more active *Youth* (the strongest ingredient to compose an *Army* of) remain so fully satisfied with an uninterrupted *License* to attain the farthest extent of their desires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the *Liberty* they enjoy: And in such Time and Wearinesse hath exchanged the humour of *Lust*, for one more *Thriving*, the Priviledge they have to *exact on Strangers*, hinders their apprehensions from finding that loathsome taste, *Forraigners* imagine to result from so *absolute a Jurisdiction*, as is, and hath been for many ages exercised by their *Emperours* over them. And thus the *State* is a double gainer, this *Indulgence* affording opportunity for all to lay out themselves to the advantage of their Country, either in getting *Wealth*, or *Souldiers* to defend it.

29. Contrary to the practise of *Christi-*

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ans, that plant the Canons of their Law and arme the Messengers of Death and Damnation against the Gnats of juvenile lapses; but permit the weightier sins of Oppression, Schisme, and Ambition, which never leave boyling in the heads, till they discover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government in turning the peoples eyes towards the Faults of their Prince, and stopping them with prejudice against his Vertues: which may be done under the Seale of so secure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before those intended to be the subject of the Tragedy are able to take notice of it, especially in Nations glutted with Peace and plenty, or such as long to cast off an usurped Power; whereas it is possible, if Nature were not so hard curbed and deprived of vent (by which she is not seldome carried, through an impetuous Lust, out of the true roade of Generation) such mindes might be taken up with lesse destructive diversions; The desire being as hard to be appeased, as that of hunger or thirst: Neither can the defect daily observed to increase in our Issue, be justly imputed to any thing else, than the meagre

meager desires, so strict a confinement breeds in us, by which the spirits are so muddled and quell'd, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for *Strength* or *Stature*, the highest perfections of Nature, and no lesse usefull in Peace than Warre; so as the *Names & Estates* of the most illustrious *Families* this age affords, depend on *Children* our fore-fathers would hardly have christened; being fit for nothing but *Learning*; a Trade had never been so over-laid, but to find employment for these *Changelings*; who *Fairy*-like throw about Fire-brands in State and Church, upon the least apprehension of any want or superfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expell by their forked *Laws*, any naturall desires, forget, they will returne, or breake out into a worse mischief; No lesse then the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, not to wring the nose of the People to voide excrements, lest *Blood* should follow: For if *Law* did not out-wrangle *Nature*, she might possibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary *Marriages* doe rather tire then satisfie her desires. And though it may not be owned

as a decent *Poesie* for the *Ringleaders* to *Sedition*, yet setting too high a *Mult* upon the peoples *Peccadillo's*, and dis-sents in Judgment, no way in their power to prevent, though possibly to dissemble, is the cause of a loathing of the present *Government*, and a certaine presage of ruine to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeale to *Religion*, and care of the peoples *Liberty*; though the first is no more visible in the *Church*, than the latter is in the *civill* Administration of affairs: Far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who gave a considerable part of what was their own, whilst these swallow all the *primitive Charity* had laid out in *pious uses*, belying so farre the *holy Spirit*, as to pretend, the worst they can say or do, is dictated by it. And I wish *Mahomet* were only guilty in this, who made not his *Religion* alone, but his loathsome *Disease* a baid to his Ambition & Rapine.

30. *Punishments* in *Turkey* are more sharp then common, which doth rather stupifie than waken the humour to *Rebellion*; and are executed on open *Malefactors*, not the *Darlings* of the people, removing

moving the latter upon occasion by a clancular procedure: As in case a *Madman* (one of the *Prophets* of their Rabble, for such they esteeme so) should inveigh against Authority, they are far wiser than to stigmatize or whip them through the *City* (as we used to doe) before the people, who take themselves not only concerned, but wounded in the generall *Liberty*, through their *sufferings*; It being their nature to take hold of, and believe any *evill report* of such *Governours* (at least) as are employed in *Taxes*, or any other *ungratefull service*, though most necessary for the use of the *State*: Therefore in such cases, if they cannot tempt him over to their side, by *Gold*, they stop his mouth with something *lesse cordiall*: and if his body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after some *Ruffin*, on whom the people may be likely to father the *Murder*; or the Corps not appearing, they pretend him rapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great *Prophet*, at whose feet he sits pleading their cause, and guarding them from some *Plague*, they say, impends over them for their *disobedience* to the *Empe-*

rouer, the Vicegerent of God upon Earth: Nor doth this often times serve, but a solemne *Fast* is appointed, where the *Statesmen* doe in shew, and the *Ignorant* in pure zeale, afflict themselves; during which time, the newes of some *victory*, or happy accident, is brought and owned as the *returne* of their *Prayers*, no lesse than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of those in Power. Thus after the multitude have been sufficiently *chastised* for the *Courtiers* faults, they become humble and quiet, submitting their backs to any burden, out of a feare of worse, and an opinion they have that it is consonant to the will of God.

Yet in my judgment no wise Prince ought to tire out *this remedy* by a too often application, lest it should not only loose its *vertue*, but breed a worse *Disease*. An over-heated *zeale* consuming not seldom the wrong end to that for which it was at first kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary winds of Ambition and Covetousnesse upon the *Church*, where the *Buckets* use to hang, likeliest to quench the flames of any other *sedition*, than what results from this *Wild-fire*, which

which for the most part melts the *Lead*, & consumes the foundation of the *House of God*, under pretence of his Service; a course that is so far from *edification*, that it makes all, not acquainted with the true knack of *Ambition*, hate to be reformed: Whose second remove is to the *Court*, where finding all things in a rotten condition, or at best obnoxious to be construed to a sense contrary to the prepossessed minds of the Major part, the whole Fabrick is consumed, to the very *person* of the *Prince*, out of whose ashes another ariseth that proves a *Bird of the same feather*, if not a worse: The *Subjects* returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the *Beggars*, that in a drunken fit expose themselves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burne the old *Whipping-post*; though dayly experience informes them, they can neither be quiet or safe without it, which is the cause that in all places they set up a new one, when the fury of the distemper is over. Thus are *Subjects* no lesse vaine, that doe rebell, than *Governours* mad, that provoke them to it.

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing hereditary: All *Honours*, and places of profit, being peculiar to *Desert*, and determine with *Life*, without the least partiality shewed to greatness of *Birth*, unless that it produceth more jealousy than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no less weight of *Restraint* on the *Ambition* of all in actual Administration of publick Affairs, than it adds *Industry* to such as have not yet attained to that height: By which a soule error in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the highest places by the mediation of *Friends* and *Money*, rather than any advantage their worth brings to the *Commonwealth*: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the *Temples* of *Honour* and *Riches*, whilst the choicest endowments of *Art* and *Nature* are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The *Emperour's* being here *Administratour* to all dead mens *Estates*, forceth their *Children* to be solicitous after trades, as having none to rely on for a future maintenance, but themselves. And to adde reputation to this laudable custome,

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the *Grand Signior* professeth some *Art* himselfe, in which he disdains not to consume his spare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That *Disbanded Souldiers* (the pest of Christian Nations) are one day in *Armes*, the next at work in their *Shops*. Neither have they such confluence of *Idle men*, *Lawyers*, and *Scholars*, which among us make up a third of the people, and are, for the most part *Contrivers* and *Fomenters* of all the distractions found in *Church* and *State*: From whence results the severest of the *Curses*, God left to the choice of *David*; For the *Plague* and *Famine* terminate chiefly in *Children* and the *weakest* of men, whereas the *Sword* (like some *Monsters* recorded) makes the *fairest Women* and *choicest Men*, the object of its lust and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelicity where ever it reignes.

33. This Custome of *Trade* and independency on future *hope* religiously observed, doth cut the cords of such *Vanities*, as draw *Christians* into *Luxury*, by a profuse expence in *Furniture*, and noe lesse excesse in *Building*, to a treble proportion

portion of what the Owner needs; in relation to his particular Family; the bu-
riall of *Timber* and other rich *Materials*,
much to the prejudice of *Shipping*, besides
the *Rent charge* it puts upon the posses-
sors Revenue to maintaine it in *Repaire*.

34. Neither is this people apt to follow
the *European* vanities of *Hors-races*, *Hun-*
ting, *Hawking*, and amorous *Entertain-*
ments: Their plurality of *Women* quen-
ching with more security in regard of
Health, and lesse *Charge*, the thirst of
Change ordinarily attending the tedious
cohabitation with one.

35. The *Turks* are very *magnificent*
in *publick Buildings*, especially such as re-
late to the service of God; none of the
weakest effects of their *Teachers* suffici-
ency; who by working upon tender
Consciences, are able (like ours) to make
them so unnaturall fools, as to skip their
nearest Relations, and to designe what
they got, they know not how, in provi-
ding conveniencies for they know not
whom: By which meanes such *Baths* and
Moscos are erected, as doe increase the
ease of *Travellers*, no lesse then the zeal
of those that make the purchase of Hea-
ven

ven the object of their endeavours: Whilst
Christians raze the names of *Benefactors*
 out of the foreheads of sumptuous *Piles*,
 suffering the ill-mingled ingredients of
 Covetousnesse, and a burning desire of
 Change in Religion, to consume brave
Monuments of Charity, by alienating the
Lands, and melting the *Lead* of the Hou-
 ses, which a more ancient and fervent
 zeal (though now indited of *Superstition*)
 had solder'd on: Therefore if I were
 worthy to give *Advice* to our *publick*
Spirits, they should hereafter assigne
 their *Legacies* and Contribution, towards
 the mending of *Common Waies*, and ere-
 cting *usefull Bridges*; more likely to
 carry their Names to eternity, than *Chur-*
ches or other *pious Foundations*, apter to
 have their conveniency questioned by co-
 vetous and ungratesull Posterity; since
 earthly Paths are more trodden and bet-
 ter indulged, than those leading to hea-
 ven: Nothing being likely to continue
 long, that is able to bear the charge of
 its own ruine. Therefore those that accu-
 mulated these rich *Donations* on the
Church and *Seminaries of Learning*, in
 stead of perpetuating their own fame,

laid a foundation for the ruine of that, they only intended to preserve: It being impossible that any humane Institution should continue without so much shew of Corruption (especially if rich & splendid) as may give a pretence for the rapine of those, who being inapprehensive of the sense of Honour and Religion, are instigated by Avarice, or a present necessity. This makes me, though with trembling presage, that the ruine of *Christianity* in *Europe* is not very far off: because the greatest *Revenues* of the *Catholick Church* are looked upon with more Envy than Religion; which once proclaimed corrupted, or unnecessary, she lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which consideration, the *Pope* hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whither he may one day be forced to retire, whose Zele is likelier to be hotter than the *Europeans*, that have had their cooled with the winds of so many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth *Religion* run from one *Meridian* to another, thriving best at first; for after a long abode she so far sharpens and refines the spirits of men, as they are able to discover such

Abuse

Abuses and Errors, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what she possesses; when, God knows, it is not the *Doctrine* that is changed, but their *Apprehensions*: for if the heat of Zeal be misimployed, which is able to concoct any opinions into the nourishment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauseous. This might tempt *Mahomet* to stuffe his *Alcaron* with such high & *mysticall expressions*, to busie and amuse such as can tast no *Doctrine*, but what may bite the Conscience and perplex the Understanding.

36. **T**Hough it be naturall for *Founders of Nations*, to enlarge their *Confines* to the farthest extent, Prudence or Power is able to stretch them, I find the *Institutes* of none suite better with such a *Designe*, then those *Mahomet* and his more immediate *Successors* have followed: Yet to spare my own memory, no lesse then theirs (if any be) that will venture such a Jewell as Time, in the surveying and purchase of so wild a field of Observations, I shall fix upon *Three things* they chiefly labour to promote:

Out

Out of which it will not only be easie to extract *their First Principles*, but deduce the *subsequent materialls* imployed in the edification of this vast *Body*, whose stride, though it extends not so far as *Spaine*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove, without danger of falling; any blocks that *neighbour Princes* may, out of jealousie cast in the way of its felicity: not to be parallel'd in any part of the world, with which Profit or Curiosity hath made us familiar.

37 The first lies in *Obedience*; which, being divided between *Religion* and *Empire*, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; least such as pretend to be the sole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular discovery of a too rough hand in *Government*, or error in divine *Worship*, in which the poor claim no lesse ample a share than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animosity for the world to come, the lesse they finde themselves possess'd of in this: it appearing to them unsuitable with the *Goodnesse* and *Justice* of a *Supream Power*, that the Creature should not some where meet with *felicity*. And

to prevent all sinister misprisions incident to the *Religion* of the Prince (the pap. with which the babes of *Rebellion* and *Novelty* are pampered) Though the *Ecclesiasticall* and *Civill Powers* be both radically in the *Grand Segnior*, yet the Pontificall *Musfy* hath studied the Art to make the people believe, these two Streames doe flow, one from a lesse, and the other from a more sanctified fountaine: By which is gain'd this huge advantage, that the *Emperour* hath all he *dislikes*, condemn'd as it were out of the mouth of God, no lesse then what he *likes*, approved; It being upon no slighter penalty than Death, to refuse to acquiesce in any *Sense* this holy man puts upon the *Alcaron*: nor can the *Interpretation*, State-reason requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the next, if it may be more usefull, because *nothing is registred* but what respects men; things relating to God being left free to the disposure of the *Prince*, who by the lips of the *Musfy* directs the knowledge of the people; himselfe like a weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of *Policy* blowes; The *inferi-*

our sort of *Priests* in the mean while screaming like Lapwings in the eares of the Rabble, lest they should observe the proceedings of the *Court*, which is the Nest wherein all their *Grievances* (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now, concerning *Obedience* in things meerly *civill*, though the hand of the *Priesthood* be not out in all emergent cases, yet the Subject having no *Vote* in the proposall or consent to *Lawes*, all being solely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but *Patience* to fly to, in the highest *exactions* he is pleased to impose, no *Instrument* appearing of any mutuall *Compact* betwixt *Him* and the *People*, so as *Life* and *Estate* are meerely *arbitrary*; better endured, because the *Crown* being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer then they were born; it being the nature of all, to esteem highest of their *Birth-right*, a *Term* here not understood.

39. The second thing promoted, is an impartiall *Parity* throughout all his *Dominions*, in relation to every thing but *Desert*; none appearing higher or lower then the rest, but according to the *Place* he

he fills in the *State*, all *Offices* remaining wholly in the dispose of the *Emperour*: This removes the Subjects eyes from the *Grandees*, who might else be tempted to Faction, and fixeth them upon the *Throne* as their naturall Object, and most auspicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thraldome out of *Feare*, and the rest out of *Hope*; two Reines, which whosoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whither he please: This keeps the Turks chaste from *Rebellion*, either out of scorne to follow one of noe more noble extraction than themselves, or through the basenesse bred in them by receiving *Injuries*, not onely from the legall *Magistrate*, but the *Souldier*, whose Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to use, yet like the *Head-prentice* they execute the same Tyranny upon *Strangers*, their Masters are pleased to exercise over them where terrour is augmented, because *Punishments* are not confin'd either by Law or Custome, though they oftener exceed, then fall short of the merit of the cause. And here it cannot be observed with-

without a serious reflexiō upon the force Imagination borrowes from the religious reverence they beare to their Prince, that such as will contemn all dangers in his defence, are rarely found (till of late) in *Arms* against him, though provoked by the most heavy *oppressions*. Thus we see how far they may erre, that make *successe* the Touchstone of the truth of a Profession, or the peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conscience; and experience can produce millions of Examples, that men only steeld with erroneous opinions have been no lesse daring upon fire and sword, then those marching under the target of truth.

40 The third thing is *Fortitude*: endowed so richly by noe Nation as the *Turks*, whose *Emperour* placeth all *Offices* in the *Van* of brave Actions, whilst his *Priests* and *Prophets* are no lesse diligent in mustering up the *joyes of Heaven* in the *Rear*: And for *Cowards*, they have not only Poverty & Reproach attending them in this world, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his *Militia*, he doth not only catch the *covetous* and *ambitious*, but those attached with the invincible humours of *superstition* and

& melancholy; By which, like Oxen, they are rendred not only fit, but willing to endure both labour and Slaughter. Thus Phansy, but a weake shell in it selfe, yet if fill'd with Sulphureous zeal, and the opinion of Truth and future Happinesse, confounds not only all that dare appear in opposition of it, but the very Designe (if capable of so much prudence and moderation as to project one) that she intended to promote. Therefore such as consider, how far the *Turks Conquests* are indulged by their *Religion*, have more cause to wonder, they are not masters of the whole world, then that they enjoy such a proportion thereof, as they doe; where the *Sisters* and *Daughters*, of the *Emperours* own bloud, are often given in marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meanest Soldier; whose *Issue* by custome can challenge noe higher place in their Unkles or Grandfathers favour, then they are able to purchase by their own *Desert*, the owning none for *Kindred*, beyond such as are allied to *Vertue*, *Wisdom*e, or some other quality that may render them usefull to the State: Unlike the practice of
Germany

Germany, where ten or more bear the *Title* of one *Principality*, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like solitary and demolished *Castles*, quite destitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the pursuit of their *Fortitude*, I shall say something more of their proceedings in *Warre*: and first of *Eunuches*, by many thought lesse propense to *Valour*, and thereby possibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemish, by such as do not warily observe, that *Caution* and *Circumspection* are no lesse, if not more necessary in the *Generall*, and often times harder to be met with, then *Daring* and undaunted *Resolution* in the *Souldier*; it being one thing to *execute*, another to *direct*. Therefore the *Grand Segnior* doth not seldome make *Eunuches* *Commanders* in *Chiefe*, never Common *Souldiers*; the *Fear*, which is necessary in the first, being destructive in the latter; more *Armies* having perished for want of *Moderation*, than *Valour*, in the Head: Besides their incapacity of *Children* gives such caution for their *Fidelity*, as cannot be expected

expected from one more virile; a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the *Change of Government*, whereas one so mutilated is capable of little more than shame and losse. And because it is unlikely to cut the throat of this *Empire* with any sword but her own, such are employed with most discretion in these high places, as are least apt to rebell.

42. *The Janizaries*, on whom they fixe the beliefe of *Victory*, are by a primitive Institution prohibited *Marriage*: Yet lest this should make a gap in their felicity, the wives and daughters of the lesse usefull, especially those their Sword hath subdued, are without question subject to their desires. This wings their obedience in the performance of Commands, though pointing at never so remote *Employments*; For quite unshackled from the magneticall force of an affection to wife and children, by use made naturall (which chaines *Christians*, like fond Apes, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper sphere; because it cannot afford courser *Meat*, harder *Lodging*, or severer

severer *Discipline*, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of *Wives* raise such cries as are made by the *Relicks* and *Children* of slaine *Souldiers*, the appeasing of which swells in other Nations to little lesse than would pay a small Army: This *Emperour*, being Heire as well to the *Lives* as *Estates* of his Subjects.

43. They seldome grant *Quarter* till all is subdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the same Adversary. Neither are they forward to exchange *Prisoners*, lest in their abode with the Enemy, their affections should be warped towards any more moderate discipline observable in those they oppose: And out of the like Jealousie they seldome continue *Warre* long with the same Nation; *Change* not only preventing all Contagion, that may arise from Commerce with worse ordered people, but affording the Souldier at least a seeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to *Quarter*, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather spoil than mend his Market by such kind of bartering, by rendring Enemies the bol-
der

er, as being readier to dispense with the danger of *Imprisonment* than *Death*: Neither are any miraculous effects of *Despaire* much to be feared, where there is roome enough left to evade: This humour being as single and rare, as the *Phœnix*, and not to be generated but out of the ashes of hope. And he that considers, that the *Turke* is not of so poore an allay, as some Princes, which are undone by a *victory*, if it costs too deare, may see his designe in a great part satisfied by the *Employment* and loss of his *Souldiers*; the too great encrease of such Spirits being all he hath reason to feare. This makes *VVarre* (an Art in other places) an absolute Nature and necessity here.

44. He is not yet so fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchase of places not able to pay for their own *Chaines*; A charge the *Catholick King* is never like to abate so long as he is Master of *Naples, Millan, &c.* that cost more to keep, then the profit made of them can compensate: the like may be yet said of *Ireland, &c.*

45. Their

45. Their *Ordnance*, found the largest in the known world, are carried into the field in the Common Souldiers Pockets.

46. The generall *Food* of the *Turks*, both in City and Camp, is *Rice & Water*, Their most dainty addition being but a *Hen*, or some small lump of *Flesh*. This makes them pursue victory over desolate Places, and starve such Armies as presume to follow them, who are as certainly overwhelmed with an Ocean of Necessities, as the *Egyptians* were by the *Red Sea*.

47. Their *Expeditions* are not ordinarily undertaken, but in *Summer*; By which many great dangers are prevented, lesse-adviced Princes do daily cope withall, in meeting with *Contingences* that arise from *Want* and bad *Weather*, harder to be vanquished than the *Enemie* himselfe. For though their Numbers be great, yet the little, *Use* hath taught them to be content withall, is easily met with at that Season, and renders them so impregnable against what we call *Fortune*, as she may possibly bend her Bow, but is not able to distresse them by the strongest Arrows her Quiver affords. Besides the

Echo

Echo the *Report* of the *Emperours* strength makes in the hollow hearts, those Princes, concerns, carry one to the other, is not only Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when *Christians* march but with part of their strength, leaving the rest to follow in the nature of a *Reserve*, (as if there were hope a paucity should prevaile when the grosse is beaten, who, if joyned, might possibly have warranted Successe) and do by this not only lessen the *repute* of their Power (of no small consequence in the *Art of War*) but discourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the sound of an *invincible Army* would prick up their Eares.

48. If a *Shock* be given to the *Emperours Forces*, he staies not long enough in that place to receive another, but returns home without tempting his Fortune farther that Summer; Wisely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a *disheartened Army* to performe what she could not bring about when the Souldier was in full plight. Neither can the certaine *cause* of an *Overthrow* be easily penetrated into; and till that
be

be thoroughly surveyed, noe Prince may in discretion hazard the chance of a *second Battaile*, though the *Commanders* appeare never so confident of good successe; it suiting with their interest both in honour and safety, to venture all, rather then come out of the Field with so great a reproach: Considerations below a Superlative power, to whom *Security* ought to be more deare, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater losse than gain. It not being impossible but that the former disgrace might arise from some *Treachery* in the *Principall Officers*. Therefore it is good Policy to examine every Card in the Pack, before the dealing of a new Game, especially upon a fleshed party: Yet with this caution, that many things must be put to the venture by the *Founder of an Empire*, which suit not with the Prudence of one already established; For *Repute*, far more necessary then *Safety* to the first, is below it many degrees in the second: since he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite lost it shal be bit by the same dogs that gave way to, or sawn

ed upon him before his force was spent.
49. The *Grand Segnior* (after augmentation of the Empire) is nothing more studious then of meanes to *Employ* the *Superfluous* quantity of *Souldiers*, his vast estate produceth: By this making those instrumentall to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in such narrow yet fruitfull Cockpits as *England*, breed nothing but *Sedition*; and for want of ease and plenty, strive like *Isaac* and his *Brother* for more roome: It being possible for evill Government to convert the blessing of *Increase and multiply* into as heavy a curse, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: Therefore a too zealous prosecution of *Peace* (which some Princes, not unwise in their single judgement, called *King-craft*) is a noe lesse vaine, than destructive Art; and so unsuitable to the good and safety of any Government, that it hatcheth *Plagues*, or which is more contagious to a State, *Civill Warre*: Neither can this *Plurisie* be easier cured, or the Spirits of *Rebellion* better evaporated, then by opening the peoples veins in some *Forraigne Employment*.

50. The *Turkish Cavalry* are seldome in evill *plight*, because their *Horses* are still under the owner's eye, who for the most part doe serve upon them, and have to that end large proportions of *land* allowed them, with other *immunities* not common to the people, to whom they are both a curbe and a protection: And between these and the *Foot* such a Feud is bred, either by Custome, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the *Horse* will (if unprevented) burn their *litter*, least the *Infantry* should imploy it to their better accommodation: Now though this may looke like a prejudice in the field, it secures all feare of *combination* at home. Neither is it a slight addition to security, that the greatest part of this *Militia* consists of such as were selected out of *Children*, paid for tribute by conquered *Nations*, who composed of severall aires, cannot associate with that ease, as Armies made up of one *Language*, which like the *Swiss*, doe not seldome call for *Ghelt*, when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their strength lies in the *Field*, and not in *Fortresses*, looked upon as *nurseries* of *Rebellion*, especially in so absolute

a Tyranny, where it is more common for the *Emperour* to send for the *Head* of a *Bashaw*, then to be denied; A power that would be buried in *stronger Holds*, out of which few would come to such entertainment, as is given to the *Grandeers* upon the least invitation of *Jealousy*. Not to beat more upon this Argument, long since driven up to the head by the best of Judgments, That *fortified places* suite the *affaires of weak Princes*, better then those of greater strength; &c. he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, then those of narrower confines and lesse populous are able to subsist without them.

§2. They make not *Religion* the cause, or at least proclaime it not for the principall *Motto* of a *Warre*; which wakens the attentions and invokes the assistance of all the contrary *profession*; the poorest man taking himselfe so farre interested in the vindication of his *Faith*, that if he hath nothing else to venture, he will account it sacriledge to deny his life: But no sound of that being heard, the voice of hope and feare drownes that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they bear to their *Neighbours*; Fa-

thering all misfortune that falls to them upon divine vengeance, in opposition of which they dare not engage; no more then most Princes are willing to part with their *Gold* till it is too late; like the wretched inhabitants of *Constantinople*, who chose rather to loose all in an entire sum, than to break it for the preservation of themselves & their Country. And if any thing could have tempted *Christians* to the rescue of their own interest in the custody of others, it would have been then, when this *Emperiall City* was in such danger: But the moderation of *Cæsars* power was so gratefull a Spectacle for the present, as it dazeled their apprehensions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this *key of Europe* was lost, those that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to mistrust their own doores, and bewaile their ignorance, in not foreseeing that the effects of such a neighbourhood were not so easily to be resisted, as the *Siege* (which was the cause) might have been raised, had there been a cordiall conjunctiō amongst those tied in policy to have kept him farther off. Thus by presuming more on the strength

strength of others, than there is cause for, most itates at last come to be distressed themselves.

53. Their *Militia* is observed to be more daring in their *Christian Expeditions*, than those undertaken against the *Persian*; a people looked upon as too neer of kin to them in *Religion*, to warrant their *Murdering*: The same sinne committed by Princes in grosse, which private persons doe by retaile, yet are punished for it in this world, where the other are commended; though the people I describe are too wise and affectionate towards the more substantiall part of their *Creed*, to prosecute those of their own *profession* to the farthest extent of their power, out of no more serious consideration, then whether their *owne*, or the *Persian Priests* delude the people with the greatest shew of Truth, especially both owning one and the same supreame Jugler, *Mahumet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of *Christians*, who make the *sword* an Umpire in the smallest differences of *Opinion*: As if *successesse*, (found as great an assertor of the designes of these *Infidells*, as ever it hath

yet appeared in the favour of *Saints*) could be able to beare so great a stresse, as the weight of *Religion*, on which depends *Salvation*, not possibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, dayly employed by Princes and men in power, to keep Victory fastened to their Tent-doors: It being the *Sufferings*, not the *Valour* of our Champion *CHRIST*, that can enroll us in the Heavenly *Host*: For though we dare not give successe to *Fortune*, any more than we are able to wrest her out of the hand of *God*; yet we finde by experience, that the wheelles of her Chariot are too weak, durty, & unsteddy, for *Truth* to triumph in, much lesse to be made captive to any others *Interpretation* than her own.

54. And though the paint of *Religion* is the ordinary Charme that raiseth the impetuous Spirits of the people into stormes (by which they can sooner destroy others than save themselves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purses, who may far easier change their Masters, then find better) yet is *Bloud* very unsuitable to the tast of true *Religion*, which participates more of the

the *Lamb*, than the *Lion*, having been ever readier to suffer wrong, then do it; till the *Priests* of old, as some think, first, for the Princes sake, and after for their own, had, not only taught her the art of Jugling, but made her so tetchey by the corroding doctrines they instil'd into mens consciences, upon the least worldly occasion, that brought their Honour or Profit under question: Farre repugnant to the first intent of *Religion*, which was to set a bar against strife, and all other unnaturall desires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; *Oppression* being a generall mischiese, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This brought *Government* into use among such as had felt the heavy experiment of *Anarchy*; to avoid which nothing contributes more than *Unity* in *Religion*, and where that cannot be compassed without much strife, a *Liberty* to professe what opinions men please, provided they be not repugnant to the generall wellfare.

54. Wherefore *Mahumet* and his successors, the better to gain the love of the people to *Religion*, tempered it with so

much moderation, as it rather *enclines* to *Hope* than *Feare*; wisely foreseeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoil more from their *Obedience*, then when they are loaded with a conceit that their *Governours* lead them in the way to *Hell*. This gives me occasion to think, that the *Goblings* armed by the *Catholicks* with so much terror, may possibly like the *Elephants* of *Pyrrhus* fall foule upon themselves, and bring their *Religion* into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick feare; not so likely to attack the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing subject to gather so much drosse, as might enforme the people, they are but the effects of humane Art; nor *Priests* that dare be so bold as to put a greater *Excise* upon the *sinnes* of the people, or the price of *Heaven*, then stands with the conveniency or *Reason of State*. Thus are the *Turkish* *Souldiers* bred in no lesse *Obedience* than *Valour*, which are indeed the most saving Articles of their Beliefs. And though undervalued by us, that expect after death a lesse carnall Heaven; yet nothing causeth their *Unity* more,

or is a greater provocation to augmentation of Empire; then the conformity held by their Priests in the inculcation of their Doctrine, not perplexing their consciences with uselesse terrours or hard questions; making no sinnes so damnable as Cowardice and Disobedience to the Commands of their Leaders; Eying Christians with a high disdain, for casting so many doubts, and bushing the way to Heaven with Purgatory and other Bugbeares, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to passe between this world and the next; Though a blind man may see, it is not consonant either to the beliefe of Prince or Priest: And these Chimera's are thought, by the Mahumetans, to intimidate Souldiers, by making them Atheists, and so in hope of no better; or Superstitious, which keeps them still in expectation of a worse: This people being no lesse hardened with Discipline, against the pleasures of this, than assured by Doctrine, they shall enjoy the same, and greater in the world to come: according to an ordinary saying among them, That if Christians carried the same opinions concerning Heaven in their

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Hearts

Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be so afraid of *Death*, the only way thither.

56. The *Turkes* esteem *Fate* inexorable, which steels their foreheads no lesse against the sharpest danger, than it smooths them towards the severest *Discipline*; yet in the midst of this belief, admit a necessary use of *Prayer*: As if importunity could be any way prevalent, where an unchangeable Resolution is acknowledged. It cannot be denied, there is a wide room left for giving *Thanks*, and praising *God*, for disposing things so much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot so seasonably be done till his will be revealed.

57. *Images*, revered in *Christian Churches*, barre the doores against both *Turk* and *Jew*: who counts us worse than *Canibals* for eating our *God*, as they say we doe in the *Eucharist*; a scandall we owe to the *Court of Rome*.

58. Notwithstanding the incomparable strength of this *Lion*, you may find all his *Treaties* lined with the fur of the *Fox*, not tying himselfe up so straight by *Promise* or *Obligation*, but that he hath still

a muse open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he is not a little beholding to the manner of his *Stile*, alwaies fuller of *hyperbolicall* Civilities than reall Assurances: yet rather than leave his *Repute* under the reproach of a *broken Faith*, he layes the fault upon the Mistake of some Minister of State, by whose bloud he expungeth all stains of Dishonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but such as have learned to decypher the *Character of Princes*, who are but few in this well-composed Government, and those comfortably employed in publick Service, or decently laid by, for prevention of mischief: It remaining past peradventure, That *such as have Heads apt for Counsell, may, upon a Discontent, find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this *Monarch*, if he stands right in his *Subjects esteem*, is not very solicitous after *Repute* from *Strangers*; yet, by reason of his vast Power, he is not often necessitated to tread such *base paths*, as our *weaker Princes* are forced to walke in, that have for the most part nothing but *Shifts* to subsist by; which like *Mines* under the walles of Townes, bring more

more prejudice than gain, if they come to be discovered by the contrary party; from which it is not easie to conceale them, if once they are flown out of the bosome that hatched them, such folly and falshood is bound up in the hearts of *Embassadors*. Besides, the frequent *Perjury* of *Princes* hath so vilified the price of *Oathes*, as they serve for little more than *Ceremony* of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects and other weake and ill-advised Strangers. Which may give occasion for an Enquiry, that since all men cannot agree, Whether a *Toleration* of their severall Religions may not be with more Charity admitted, then every one persecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And because *one God* is universally owned, all Protestations should be taken under that single Name, without any other addition; many bearing an awfull reverence to *That*, who look upon the rest as products of *Policy*, and therefore leave room for such mentall reservations as the Priests, no lesse then the *Grandees* have too long abused the world withall. And till a reverence, still begun at the Head, be reall,

or

or unapprehensibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of *Oaths* in the Members: This arraignes all Princes of madnesse, that rest secure upon the *Fidelity* of their *Subjects*, after they have forfeited their own by illegall and exorbitant *Taxes*. Nor is *Perjury* found so frequently among those esteemed *Infidels*, as our dry *Professors*, that have *Religion* still in their mouths, and the *Bible* in their Eyes: Not that a practice of *holy Duties* can possibly be more the reason of *Falshood* in the one, than *Profaness*, of *Truth* in the other; But having made themselves more familiar with the Mercy, than Justice of God, and presuming upon the certainty of their own *Salvation*, and *Damnation* of others (for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be suspected, because it befriends no other interest but their own) they think to make God amends some other way; whereas a poor *Sinner*, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied *Conscience* (sharper far than the *Humiliations*, these outward *Professors* proportion to themselves) dares

not

not venture on so deare an Impiety, out of hope to digest it the next *Fast*. And if I am not much mistaken, the *Turks* beare a more awfull reverence to *Oaths*, than *Christians*, nor are they found to allay it with the poisonous mixture of *Equivocation*, though the *Jewes* that live among them are more indifferent what they attest; A sad thing, that such as were formerly, and those that are now the people of God, should exceed *Infidels* in so foule and unfociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent, Though the bare attestation of a *Musleman*, or *Turkish Believer* is often taken for an authentick Proove against a *Stranger*; Yet in their ordinary *Trialls* between one another, they proceed with more Caution, so as not to rely upon *Oaths* themselves; but from private *Examinations*, and *Questions* so unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated *Combination* can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, & perjury prevented, frequent amongst us, where the Lives and Estates of conscientious people are without remedy exposed to their mercy, who scruple not the calling God to
the

the witnesse of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this mitchief, or yeild a sincere and faithfull Obedience to the precept of our *Saviour*, *Swear not at all*, &c. (which the corrupt *glosses* of *Expositors* labour much, though in vaine, to elude) then, if, instead of that slight and irreverent manner of *Swearing*, or rather prostituting the Word of God to the *kisse* of impure lips, according to the loose custome of all our *Courts* of *Judicature*, the Judges themselves, or those appointed for that purpose, would take the paines, by the touch-stone of a diligent scrutiny, and scrupulous examination of Witnesses apart, to distinguish the pure and golden Truth, from the baser Alchimy of the most cunningly forged Falshood.

60. They preferre *Christianity* so far, as no *Jew* can turne *Turke*, till he hath been *Christened*: The vulgar thinking God best pleased with such a *gradation*, though Authority interjected this *Ceremony* to fence them against a too great concourse of this *subtill* people, who in relation to *Circumcision*, are apter to embrace their Religion then ours, & do by their *Conversion*

version lessen the profit arising from them as *Jewes*. Now least the Impiety of casting blocks in the way of *Proselytes* should seem to relate only to this so much abominated Nation, I desire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here, at the *Jewes* being in *England*, as there is still in some other Nations, That such of them as turned *Christians*, should lose all, or the greatest part of what they had: For which this pious reason was given, That many remained *Jewes* still in their hearts, notwithstanding an outward profession: Thus a greater *Hypocrisie* cheated the lesse.

61. I find them, though constant to their own, yet so indulgent to the opinions of *Strangers*, as to afford such a safe passe among them: which, besides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in so moderate a temper, as the plague of *Hypocrisie* (which like an *Iron-mole*, stains, and in a short time eats out the purity of *Religion*, by acting a sublimer piety, than the nature of man unshorned through Ambition or Covetousness, is able to make real, longer than

than a Fanatick heat inspires it) hath not yet there broke out farther than among some few particulars ; though by such the Cockatrice of *Civill Warre* is ordinarily disclosed in the Bosomes of *Christians*, concluding all damned which rest not in their Expositions and Customs , how ridiculous soever : Not considering the mischiefe they doe, that remove old uncertaine *Errors*, before they have found as certain *Truths* to put in their roome. The same may be said of reputed inconveniences; such as is their conniving at Courtelans (chiefly done to prevent *Adultery*, *Sodomy*, and *Bestiality*; sinnes infesting these hot Countrys, therefore) possibly lesse abominable, than some Divines make it: This sort of *Cattell* being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*; Neither did divers others, looked upon as *men after God's own heart*, blush to keep droves of them; Nay, if some be not sculely out in their Expositions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of *Gods Blessings*: And he that doth by this publique sin, as some have done by *Religion*, exchange it for a *worse* (though perhaps more solitary) I pray what hath the

the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though lesse naturall, increasing *Hypocrites* more then *Saints*. And if our Blessed *Saviour* should now speak to the Consciences of men, as he did to the *Jewes*, *He that is without sin, &c.* I believe *Fornication* would scape, whatever became of *Adultery*. To conclude this point, it is so much the greater boldnesse to adde to, than diminish from the severity of God, as we stand more in need of his Mercy then Justice.

62. The grosse of their *Revenue* is employed in securing their *Empire* at home, fetching *Victory* from abroad: The *Grand Signior* being only luxurious in *Women*, and *domestick pleasures*; which like *Fountains* in the body, may possibly evaporate worse humours then they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practised Doctrine of our *Theologues*, especially those of the Church of *Rome*; *Catholick Kings* rather conniving at this mischief, than the perpetuall inconveniences resulting from a married *Clergie*, who by giving their *Children* better breeding than *Estates*, are the cause they do not seldome fall into *exorbitances*.

63. Repute

63. R Epute hath swell'd the Sultan's
power to such a vast Monstrosity,
and so farre dazled the eyes of Christian
Princes, weakned by *divisions in Religion*,
that they dare not look upon him with-
out a Present; Neither is the Persian much
bolder, which gives him the advantage,
noe lesse than honour to be still on the
offensive: And in this the generosity he
useth, to divulge the *Prince*, if not the
place he meaneth next to attacque, turns
more to his advantage, than may appear
to every eye; other Nations resting so
secure upon this, as they doe not provide,
if at all, a defence proportionable to the
danger; which if once made ready, could
not be laid out to a more probable ad-
vantage for themselves and *Christen-
dome*, then in stopping the progresse
of this *Polyphamus*, who is likely, if
not prevented by some civill Rupture,
to devour all the *Italian Principa-
lities*, if once he ravish the *Venetian*,
whose hands have been weakened by
the longest Warre that ever any single
State maintained against this Mon-
ster, who for want of assistance, can-
not

not choose but shortly yeild up *Canady* to his Lust: And then our *drowly Princes*, who were no more affected with her Cries, than wakened by the noise of her Canon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their eares, shall lament their Errour, and curse themselves, and the Counsell that moved them to observe this unnaturall *Neutrality*, and to preferre a little pleasure they take in gratifying the envy they have ever borne to this more magnificent Republick (tyed by all reason to maintaine the smaller States of *Italy* in being) before the assuring of their feares by a cordiall combining against this common enemy, of whose mercy they can have no hope; Nothing being more suitable to his former procedure, or future security, than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only obstructers of his farther progresse into *Christendome*; Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* doe, is rather by the strength of their *Heads*, than *Hands*, having not yet made themselves very famous for Valour, participating not so much

much of the *Lion*, as *Fox*, with whose skin most of their *Archievements* are found to be lined; being themselves, if fooles in any thing, in the excessive awe they stand of Death, the cause they employ *Strangers*. Neither is it a lesse wonder, that *France*, *Spaine*, and other potent Nations, doe daily passe by greater *affronts* received from the *Ottoman Empire*, without the least notice taken, then they are observed to fight for among themselves; as if nothing could be dishonourable or unsafe, but what ariseth from the injuries of men of the *same Religion*; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, especially resulting from the Omisision, if not Commission of the *Court of Rome*: For did the *Jesuites* and other active *Priests* turne the tide of their *Policy* (which hath already immersed *Europe* in blood) towards the *Turks*, they might soon be overflown by as great a deluge of *Schismes*, as we are now plunged in: But the feare of losing the *Bird in hand*, makes the Pope unwilling to employ his *Engines* for the taking of this:
Not

Not considering that the *Mahumetan* profession is grown up to as high an earthly *Felicity*, *Univversality*, and *Consent*, as the *Papacy*; Neither doe they want as great an *Antiquity* for some of their *Tenets*, the which if they once come to be washed over by the varnish of *Learning*, the *Musley* may, assisted by his Master's force, turne his *Holinesse* out of *Rome*, as that *Bishop* did the *Emperors*, and so avenge *Europe* and *Asia* both, for the rent the subtill *Priests* made between the *East* and the *West Churches*, for no more religious respect, than to beautifie their own habit and increafe their Power.

And if the Virgin City of *Venice* comes to be wholly prostituted to the lust of this *Monster*, who hath already intangled his *Sword* in one of her strongest *Locks*, it is possible the *Catholick King* shall not be able long to injoy those *Concubinary Principalities*, made his by no juster Contract, than the *Procuracion* of his Chaplain, the *Pope*, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of lesse advised Neighbours: But to give the *Pope* his due (looked upon by the dazled eyes of

of our Zelots, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporall power.) *Christian Princes* are apt to take so much advantage from the harping irons, *Luther, Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in subverting *Errors*, than reconciling of *Truth*) have fastned in the sides of this Ecclesiasticall *Leviathan*, not to be kept floating in a narrower *Sea*, than that of *Rome*, (formerly as Magisteriall in things temporall, as now she remaines in *spirituals*, which prudence might manage to as universall a tranquillity, as appeared in the dayes of *Augustus*) that he hath no leisure to look abroad, for feare the same Spirit that troubled the waters in *Germany*, should dry up those in *Italy*, &c. It being in the power of every Priace to cut the banks of the Church, which in *France* is the feare of *Schisme*, and in the *Catholick King's* Dominions, the *Inquisition*. Yet in case his Holinesse should make it a cordiall endeavour to soment a League against the *Turke*, *France* and *Spaine* would fall out who should head it, and endeavour

vour to spoile the others Subjects in the meane time: Such incomparable *Charity* resides among Christian Princes, that value *Religion* no higher than the profit it brings: so as the *Roman Bishop*, with all his *Emissaries*, have full employment by adding and taking away, to keep the scales even between these two tottering Princes, and to heighten their spirits against *England*, and other Nations at enmity with *Rome*; least we should have a *Great Turk* of our own, that is, an *Universall Monarch*, under whose absolute power the *Pope* and all other *Christian Princes* could expect no higher places than those of *Vassals*. And though a *Combination* were feasible, small advantage would accrue, since every considerable *confederate* must have a *Generall* of their owne; from whence would proceed more *Cry* than *Wooll*, by perplexing Counsels with contrary commands: Because, if it were probable Kings should so far forget their *Honour*, as to lay downe all disputes about precedence, yet their particular *Interest* could not but remember them, that the strength designed against the *Turke*, might

might, after successe, recoyle upon themselves: not without a president in Story, and therefore not likely to employ any other in *Chiefe*, but their own Subjects. And what contrary affections, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Force patched up of so many Nations, is manifest in the *Maritime* battell of *Lepanto*; where, though the desire of all might be to eclipse the *Ottoman* Moon, yet it was in many so faint, as they could not endure it should be removed quite out of its Sphere, or lose the Interest it doth exercise within the *Christian* Pale (which, by a through persecution of that naval victory, might easily have been brought about) out of fear, the greater Princes, by that secured, should after have made it their endeavour to devour the lesse: And this (with some Umbrages of Jealousie the *Catholick King* had of his Brother *Don John of Austria*) made the Confederates return without doing more than shew the *Grand Segnior* wherein he was defective, and by this chastizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of Commanders and Provisions for Sea, which he

hath since repaired at our cost, by maintaining an *Arcenall* in *Algeers*, of which the King of *Spaine* denyed his Brother to be *Governour*; so jealous are *Christians* one of the other, that they have more confidence in *Turks*, than those of their own Religion: yet, to speak Gods truth, whosoever shall command an Army against this Epidemicall Enemy, with such successe as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be lesse than superlative wherever he comes; and therefore liable, like him, to receive a Fig out of the venomous hand of *Jealousie*. Which warrants me to think, the fittest for such an employment as the heading an Army raised by a League, is the *Pope*, who lying within gun-shot himselfe, is the most likely to take the truest aime at the finishing of the work: But this the *Lutherans* and *Protestants* would oppose, no lesse than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but feare, that the power of the *Ottoman Family* being sufficiently moderated, he could have no better employment for the Army, than to scare them with it; looked upon perhaps in his esteem, as greater enemies:

Yet

Yet if there were an unity in Religion, and a totall abatement of his Holinesse pre-
tences to any secular power, farther than
the extent of *Peter's Patrimony*, it might
with more probability be brought about,
than any temporall Prince is able to give
caution for: And thus Policy might not
onely make use of him, in opposing the
Turk, but in reconciling such *Kings*, as
when they are weary of their inconfide-
rat Quarrels, know no other way to bring
about peace, than by the mediation of
the Bishop of *Rome*. But as things now
stand, Experience hath taught us how
vain a Composition of Force is, in the
attempt of moderating the *Ottoman Gran-*
dure: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity
to undertake him alone, The *Emperour*
being shackled by the links of contrary
Opinions, and now utterly disabled since
the *Swedes* Incurſion: I confesse, the
Catholick King, upon whose skirts he
ſits, were the moſt likely to get ground
upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not
the *French* perplex him with the feare
of loſing his owne: Between which
Nations there can be no reconciliation,
ſo long as the *Pope's* greatneſſe is ſup-

ported by Division; An *Universall Monarchy* in *Europe* being more against the grain of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Asia*, so as it is no improbable Paradox to maintaine, *That the Turk by accident supports his Holinesse*: And if the *Pope* and *Inquisition* were put down, *Atheisme* would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worse, *Religion* would be divided into such destructive, bloody, and hypocritical streames, as her name would be quite lost in the dilatation, or render her professors as odious as ever they were to the *Heathen Emperours*: especially since she hath in all places, and under every profession, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a field of blood, without respect had to *Covenants*, *Oaths*, *Allegiance*, or the most naturall and obliging *Relations*; therefore formidable to *Kings*, whose single and open bosomes render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous tempered Steel of an exasperated Zeale; so, not likely to be entertained in any place, but where her own Sword shall be able to bid her welcome: The

Beauty

Beauty of Holinesse, with which she was wont to allure *Profelytes*, being now shrivel'd into uglinesse, by her frequent application of the sublimated paint of Hypocrisy; so generally observed among *Christians*, as neither the *Turk*, or any other *Mahumetan* Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety, barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whose Charity hath obstructed the meanes of Conversion in relation to all Forraigners not formerly engaged by Birth and Education: so as no probability resides in any endeavour can be used to tempt the *Turks* from *Mahomet*, unlesse (as I hinted before) some *Jesuite* were able to personate his Ghott, and proclaime himselfe risen, according to their Prophet's long delay'd promise: for such an one might possibly prevaile so far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foule among themselves: A *Breach in Religion* being found by experience the readiest way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we see overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lye in supporting such *Cedars of State*, as are marked out for ruine by the Fears or Fury of the

Prince; and if possible, to give shelter to some of the younger *Royall Branches*, who are sure upon their Father's death to be sacrificed to the security of the elders; and may, as occasion serves, facilitate *Rebellion*, by landing an Army able to make good the Field, whilst the Snow-ball is gathering: A project most convenient for the Wisdom and Situation of *Venice*, were she owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whose Heire she deserves best to be, since she alone retaines more of her Freedome than all the known world besides is able to produce: Her Government being built on such rational, if not infallible *Maximes*, as might bear the weight of a far greater Frame, if *Italy* were wise enough to see it; who need not be concubinary to so many wanton desires of Strangers, would all her small and new-hatched Governments shelter themselves under her wings, who are known to spend more severally in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, &c. than wisely laid out in an entire summe, would purchase the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded,

the *Grand Segnior* do not fall through his own weight, he may live to see *Europe* under as great a thraldome in every relation to body and soul, as *Turkey*, unlesse he be cordially opposed at his own door: *Tyrants*, like *Dogs*, having their fiercenesse rather whetted than rebated by a defensive opposition: whereas he that breaks resolutely in upon them, makes them not seldome take their heels: All changes in such an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by those that abroad would die to extend the same Government over others: *Oppression* being so odious to Subjects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its destruction to the very persons that share in their desires with the *Monarch*, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injustice themselves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiousnesse of the *Christian* Practice, That it is to little purpose (by reason of the contrary pretences of *Princes*) to make leagues *Offensive* and *Defensive*, which he hath seldome done, yet considers his *Neighbours* dangers as his

own, before delay hath rendred them incurable: Apparent in the large offer he made to *Venice*, whilst she lay under the interdict of *Paul* the fit; and might if her Subjects had not been wiser through civill divisions have lapsed into the hands of *Spaine*, as diverse Nations lesse prudent have done, by their own folly and a stupid patience of their neighbours, whose ordinary custome is to forbear giving assistance, till it is rendred unseasonable, and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much lesse by a too late repentance; as in the case of *Navarre*, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and *Dutchy of Lorraine*, by that of *Spaine*: Any Augmentation to one of these Kingdomes being an equall Diminution from the other, the consideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the aversenesse the *Turk* hath towards any strict Confederation with Forraigners, gives him not only the liberty to preserve his friends, but to take any advantage to enlarge himselfe: His Subjects not having such vast Estates abroad, as might deterre him from taking a revenge in case of injury, for fear

of an *Embargement* : whereas Christians have Ware-houses in *Constantinople* full of wealth, and to such a value, as give this Infidell caution for his using us at his pleasure without danger: Nor have we more than the *Sultan's* bare word to secure our *Trade*, which it is likely you may tell me, he observes as religiously as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigall in *Embassadors*: for, keeping still the offensive end of the Staffe, he is often sued to, but seldome sends a wooing for *Peace*; which obtained is found of no longer life then it suits with the occasions and counsels of both parties: Therefore *Confederations*, *Truces*, and *Leagues*, signifie nothing but danger to the weaker side, who by these are not seldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be lessened upon this score: It being an infallible certainty, that nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature, The last of which doth lesse concerne the *Grand Segnior*, because he seeks not to match his *Daughters* out of his own Territories, esteeming no blood Royall, but what runs in his own veines, and his that is to succeed him: Neither

is he lycorish after the choice of the *Issue of Kings* for his own *Bed*, finding the same content in the embraces of a *Subiect* or a *Slave*, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in those of a *Princess*. Nor doth his modesty abuse him, but acquits him from the danger of having a *Spiq* in his *Bosome*, or a coëquall in his Counsell; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his *Wives* upon occasion, without the feare of any other frown but that of *Heaven*; amongst whose joyes (according to his Creed) is *Change of Women*, and all carnall *Delights*.

And by the division he makes of his Love among many *Wives*, he renders the Government lesse factious: The *Distaffe* having been found no friend to the *Scepter*, opening often a back door to *Innovation*; apparent in *Christians*, who *Marrying* the daughters of more potent Princes than themselves, are so farre over-awed by them, as to make them partners in their most secret designes, else they are able to distresse them through the strength of their own friends. Thus a *Prince* comes to have an *Enemy* in his bo-
some,

some, and such an one as he dares not question, for feare of a shower at home, and a storme from abroad: So as if all the benefit Story can record to have (at least of late) accrued to *Kings* from the great *Allyes* of their *Wives*, were put together, you shall find it inconsiderable, computed with the losse, especially if their *Religion* differs; for then the looking upon him as out of the reach of Gods mercy, can think nothing an injury to his person, or a losse to his estate, if her *ghostly fathers* are pleased to encourage her; Considerations without bottome in this conformity in *Profession*, and parity in *Subjection*; where the birth of the first Son gives the title of *Sultana* to a slave, the highest honour or employment a woman can be borne to: and what might abundantly content them also in *Europe*, where they are made the *Arbitrators* of the *Royall Line*.

69. The ~~Emperour~~ *Emperour* appears not in *Publick*, but on *Horseback*, where all *Deformities*, if he owes any, are best concealed: And is then in such *Splendor*, as the former-ingaged opinion of the multitude renders him more than *Humanes* whereas

whereas our lesse Majestick *Princes* become so cheap by their daily figging up and down the streets after their pleasures unattended, whilst this graver *Monarch* enjoys them all under his own roof: where none are suffered to enter; but those, that are *dumb* from their Births, or are rendred so through feare or use; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperour's disadvantage, but proves mortall to the divulger: Not possible to be observed among *Christians*, whose *Meales*, like *Puppet-plays*, are made the object of all eyes, and their lightest *Discourses* (apt then to break out) the scorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the earth, with no small addition; whilst their own Subjects calculate a crooked nature from the *Deformities* of their *Bodies*, evill *Gestures*, or a too luxurious taking in of their *Wine* or *Meat*: It not being easie to shew a man at a greater disadvantage, than whilst he is taking his *Repast*, the most certaine *Symbol* of *Mortality*. This altogether casts no lesse cloud over their *Majesty*, than their *Cheats* and *Perjuries*, to procure Money, are observed

ved to doe upon their *Probity*: which raiseth such a damp of *Contempt* about the *Throne*, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their present power, than any voluntary or naturall affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have so low esteem, as they think them easy to be matched, if not by themselves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withall.

66. In *Progresse* his *Train* is not inferior to an *Army*, in which he receives all graciously that come to see him: And by this *Strength & Affability* the remotest parts are not only wooed to *Obedience*, but terrified from *Insurrections*; calculating by the Power attending him in his Pleasures, the terribleness of a Force that should be raised in his Fury: Notwithstanding at this time nothing appears about him but *Love* in his words, and *Charity* in his actions: For where he sees the earth covered with *Poore*, he casts his Money, which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity, safely to drain the more affluent *Rich*. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that
may

may give way to Punishment, never to Passion.

67. He owns not in his *Royall Person* any ingratefull *Imposition*, but appeares ever before his people like the Sun, carrying in his looks no lesse Serenity, than Splendour in all about him; and answers any clamours of Joy with as cordiall *Blessings* and Thanks: knowing it is as uncomely for a *Prince* in publick to seem angry, as poor; That threatning no lesse danger to the *Lives*, than This doth presage incroachment upon the *Fortunes* of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to employ any *Arbitrary power* in his own person, how well soever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handing all *Grievances* to his people by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury: Neither doth this lessen the number of these *Harpies*, any more than it doth *Conjurers*, to hear their Predecessors were torne in pieces by the command of those they had formerly nourished with their Blood. Thus by such amiable gestures, and the high price

he

he seems in publick to set upon the *Nations* content, so great a *Love* is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evils that fall upon them are removed from the principall cause, and attributed to such as are only instrumentall in their promotion: A practice waved by our lesse advised *Monarchs*, who sit in *Parliament*, as *Jupiter* is painted, with *Thunder* in their hands, as if they had already the will and power, and wanted nothing but their peoples consent to make them miserable; not affording a gratefull concession, but by the high and rugged way of *Exchange*; nor good words, but to usher in a more chargeable Request, scorning to reckon with the Subject, & make even for their *Minions* and Officers Faults, till they are so far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown exposed to the purchase of any that hath the subtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miscarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to such as *complaine* of the *Grandeers*, not seldome gratifying them with the Heads of their *Oppressors*. By which he doth,

doth not only stop the mouths of his people with a shew of Piety and Justice, but fills his *Exchequer* with the reall Coine he finds about those thus complained of: Yet if he takes the party's *Life* to be more considerable to his affaires than his *Death*, he satisfies the publick discontent by translating the Offender to some *remoter employment*, where, being farther from the *Court*, severity may be more necessary, at least not so dishonourable, as when it appears at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not safe, to gall the many-headed Monster twice in a *Place*, with one and the same *Engine*. And by this even and constant procedure, an uninterrupted *Prosperity* hath been entailed to this *Empire*, that the voice of *Liberty* continues still such a stranger in their streets, as if their Language were barren of a word to expresse it. Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoyes all, and by defending none of his bad instruments, hath been secure himself, till these latter yeares, in which some *Constellation* seems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to *Rebellion*. This imboldens me to assert it as a Ma-

time, That Princes contract more hatred from the injustice and oppressions of their Favourites, than their own: A farre lesse Revenue, than doth legally depend on a Crown, being able to correspond for a greater summe, than the follies of a single person can possibly consume, unlesse attached by the bottomlesse humour of Play, which a prudent Prince cannot choote but look upon as farre below the dignity of his person; it being impossible for him either to win or lose, but at the prejudice of his *Courtiers or Subjects*.

69. Here is no *mediū* between the Anger of the *Sultan* & Death: A great man flea'd out of Office being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the people, who are easily suborned out of pittie, to believe such persecuted for their sakes: Therefore *Discontent* is not suffered to live, the *Power* being as severely punished, as the *Will* to do Mischief: This makes the *Grandees* to carry their bodies swimming between *Popularity*, and an *Epidemicall Dislike*, since though the first be the most certain messenger of Death, yet the latter doth not seldome bring the same errand, For, such as by *Taxes* or *perverting of Justice*

Justice (though by the *Emperors* command) are found abusers of the people, die some cruell death, to give the more publick satisfaction; whereas those who fall under his *Jealousie*, in relation to his particular safety, leave the world by a lesse painfull *Exit*: Which may breed an opinion in the Multitude, That their Prince is only cruell on their behalf, and at the worst but severe in his own. Here the vanity of *Court Minions* is manifest, who like Beasts for Sacrifice, are crowned and honoured, till their *Masters* finnes require their blood to set him right in the opinion of the people; in the fury of whom lies all the *Hell*, the Religion of most Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

70. **T**He *Priests* scrue up to the height of *Miracles* all *unusuall Contingencies*, which make not a few in such a Mass of Events, neither is their Report wanting to augment them: And these are still hanged before the eyes of the People, either to terrify or allure them, as it suits with the present humour of State. And thus the *Popish Legend* came to be gilded

gilded by so many miraculous effects of *Saints*, and their *Reliquies*; which, after all contradiction was buried, appear'd to the world under no lesse then a cloud of witnesses; Being capable of no stronger confutation, than what they receive from a present incapacity of doing the like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their election, or hyperbolicall in the predication of these *pious*, or rather usefull *deceits*; the error is committed after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the most exact Copy for Policy the world affords: Nor is there place left for blame in relation to either, since what was obtruded upon the *Catholicks* heretofore, suited as well the apprehensions of those times, as these do now the *Turks*: Therefore the Imprudence lies not in the folly of the *Miracles*, but theirs, who suffered such a criticall *Learning* to blaze out, as pretends matter of *Reprooffe* in all things extant, *Knowledge* being as great an enemy to our present felicity, as it was to that in *Paradise*: So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let *Miracles* fall, out of feare to finde her selfe detected by the now super-numerary issue of tatling *Apollo*, which,
out

out of too much *Wit*, or too little *Faith*, make an over-strict scrutiny into their Truth, hanging like *Locusts*, and croaking like *Frogs*, about all things that seem *green* or *rotten* in the Church: Nor will they fall off, till their mouths be stopped by *Preferment*, or their heads satisfied with *Reason*: Yet had she but enough of the first, it might suffice to purchase a competent proportion of the latter, or at worst so much *Sophistry* as might serve her turn: But the ancient *Piety* being blended in *Luxury*, & her *Revenue* in a great proportion swallowed up by the covetousnesse of *Princes*, the *Pope* & *Clergie* hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendring themselves necessary to the ambition of Monarchs, especially that of *Spaine*; *Republiques* being naturally not so auspicious to the *Priesthood*. Nevertheless, lest the *Catholick King* should attaine to an absolute power in *Christendome*, under which his *Holinesse* would be totally eclipsed, his principall endeavour has been to foment a difference still between him & *France*, and so by their banding to keep himsele up in play; Shifts the Church was never

put to during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when *Learning* and all Books lay at her mercy, so as she had power to cut them shorter, or extend their sence as best fitted the occasion: The *Lairy* being so perplexed between the hope of *Heaven*, and feare of *Hell*, that the dark entry of *Death* gave the *Priests* as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the *Passeover* did the *Jewes* to rob the *Egyptians*: But now in the absence of the ancient *Piety* & *Ignorance*, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reason from breaking in upon her (who like a *Woolfe* hath, this last Century, lain gnawing at the *Pope's* Honour and Profit) than by sacrificing more men yearly to the fury of the *Inquisition*, than *Solomon* did *Beasts* at the dedication of the *Temple*: An Impiety not chargeable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profession of any *Religion*, though never so contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his Truth, which no question he would not be long in doing, were he so angry with the opposite Tenents, as they in their furious Sermons are pleased to represent him.

71. The Turk finding *Printing* and *Learning* the chief fomentors of *Divisions* in *Christendome*, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet, whilst we tire out our best time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the study of strange *Languages* (which are but the Bindings of Learning, and do often cover lesse Knowledge, than may be had in our own Ideom) they come more adapted into *State-employments*, and sooner furnished with clearer Reason, drawn from the quicker Fountains of lesse erring *Experience*; And were never yet found to be out-reached in Prudence, by the most politick and learned Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this strange, that considers what the custome of *Universities* requires at the hands of Students, viz. knowledge in the *Arts* so called, and a nimble mouthing of canting Terms, coyned by themselves, and so current in the commerce of no larger Understandings than their own, & such as are sworn to the same Principles. The vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can easier start ten Errors, than kill one; as is manifest in the

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Differences between us and *Rome*, concerning which, though in right reason we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the dispute is no whit abated.

72. All *Sciences* any waies resembling those we call *Liberall*, are taught nowhere but in the *Seraglio*, where the *Grand Segnior* hath the power to increase or diminish the number of their *Professors*, according as it suits his occasions: *Able men* resembling wanton *Boyes*, that, rather than be unemployed, will do mischief, None attaining to any perfection but what he hath use for: *Idle Valor* being the tool, as *Learning & Knowledge* are the operators of all *Civill Dissentions*. A course quite contrary to the husbandry of *Europe*, or more particularly *England*, in whose Body *Mercury* and *Sulphur* exceed Employment, which should be the *Salt* to fix the rest, and keep them from putrefaction: For want of which her *Schools* do man out as many *Enemies* as *Friends*, legible in the vast volumes of *Controversies* that lie vendible on every *Stall*. This results from the multitude of *Grammar Schooles* (in the building

building of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a *Bag* and a *Bottle*, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a *Lottery*, they take their chance in *Beggery*, for one that meets with a *Prize*; and that, when it comes, is scarce worth the labour, cost, & time required in making themselves capable: Nor mens fortunes being confined in so narrow a Circle, nor built upon such shaking Foundations, as those of *Scholars*: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their clashing in Opinions, having melted the *Basons* and larger Plate, our Ancestors set up for the encouragement of *Learning*, which, like a *Viper*, doth now endeavour to eat out the bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of *School-boys* not being able to advance them higher, all the rest is lost but *Reading* and *Writing*, and they rendered, by seven or eight yeares lazy living, incapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable *Plough*, and so become *Serving-men*, and *Lawyers*, and *Iustices Clerks*; by the vertue of which professions they turne cunning

cunning Knaves, and cozen their Country: A charge circumsised in *Turkey*, by mixing the expensive Callings of *Law* and *Divinity* together, by which the *Priests* are so fully employed, as no leisure is given to study *Innovation* in either profession, and consequently dries up the Fountaines of *Rebellion*. Which foreseen by the prudent eye of the divine Legislator, *Moses*, directed him to the uniting of the *sacred Rites*, and *civill Sanctions* into one *Body*, making the Law of the Land a piece of God's Law, and the Justice of the Magistrate, Religion: which stamps no lesse authority upon the Law, then it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiseth to the Government, where it is entertained, *Length of dayes* and *Safety* on the one hand, with *Riches and Honour* on the other. Which course affords also such *Expedition* as gives one side, at least, cause to applaud Justice; whereas here the better'd party is left so little to boast of, that he returns home as ill satisfied, as he which had Sentence pronounced against him.

73. Neither are these *Delays* any whit remedied by the ill-Husbandry of

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breeding so many to the *long Robe*, as are found in *England*: which excesse springs from the multitude of *Pedants* that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in such quantities, over the Nation, as they do not onely supplant those of their own Calling (which in it selfe were mischiefe enough) but infect all *Government*. Their *Scholars* if they arrive to any maturity, at length turne *Academicks*, whose Cloystred and Monkish *Learning* is by Statesmen looked upon as resembling dead Honey, which is stale, course, and lesse usefull, none being pure and Virginall, but what is sucked from every Flower, that may be found in the wide field of a generall Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of *Unversity men* Providence hath snatched such *choice Brands*, as are able to illuminate the world; yet let these trowning Eagles speak sincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appeare above that vast pile of *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, *Linguists*, *Criticks*, &c. heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funerall to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they must tell you, that the least part of this excellency

excellency came from their *Mother*: The *Tongues* being at the best but the *Crackers of Knowledge*, the *Kernell* remaining uselesse, if not bitter and loathsome, still picked & dressed by *Employment & Experience*. Nor can this be admired by such as consider the practice of ordinary *Tutors*, who throw to their *Pupils* the dry *Bones*, and not the *Marrow of Erudition*: By which more time is often consumed in the setting out, than a wise man perhaps would have thought well spent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not said to bring any water towards the cleansing of their hands, who either have or do intend to imbrue them in the *Sacrilegious Spoiles of Colledges*, to the utter discouragement of all future *Charity*; I wish them rather cut off: For though thousands are found to bury their *Talents* in the ocean of *Controversies*, and in implicit adhering to the writings of the *Ancients* (who might possibly erre out of no lesse policy, than the Church of *Rome* hath since maintained them) yet all ages do afford some that scorne to be tied up to *Patternes*, but enrich the world with such new *Inventions*, as may not onely

expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance
of all *Foundations*.

75. Thus have I shewn, that the *Turk*
want of knowledg in our *Learning* of
Religion, leaves him neither so Imprudent
or Wicked, but that he is able to promote
his owne *Interest*, and willing to make his
Subjects so far *happy*, as may suit with an
Absolute power,



A N I N D E X.

OF

The particulars contained in the
Observations upon the *TUR-*
KISH GOVERNMENT.

THe Preface; Mahumet the Foun-
der of the Turkish Empire: his
story disadvantageously recorded, for want
of Pens of their owne. 2. The time luc-
rative for his Attempts. 3. His Followers
ignorant, and (so) apt to take any Religious
impression. 4. Crosse Accidents hindred
not their progresse, 5, 7. His chiefe
Rites, gathered out of Judaisme and Chri-
stianity. — 6. Images prohibited, and why.
— 8. The institution and use of (the
Jewish and) their Sabbath. And — 9. Priests.
10. Their Policy directed more to the
Princes Interest, than the Priests — 11. Who
are to be kept in a Mediocrity. 12. The
Alcoran, by whom interpreted. 13. Pray-
ers more frequent than Preaching. 14. In
what Uses their Doctrine ends, — 15. Not
to expect happinesse here, but in another
world. — Their Practice is not so bad as some
Christians. 16. The advantages to the State

from Oaths and Religion.—17. Though a false one; and from Churchmen, who yet drive on their own interest.—18. The Mahometan Rites not chargeable or grievous to Nature. — Sacrifices, why omitted.

19. Their Abstinence from Wine, and the Reasons thereof. 20. Their Constancy to their Primitive Institutes; the mischief of Change, and—21. Their Provisions against it. —22. Reasons of State for the Musty's Advancement and—the Emperor's honouring him in publique. 23. (Meca within his own power.) —24. Which yet cannot alwaies secure him from his Foulousie; but upon occasion makes him away privately; yet without aspersing his Fame, and why. —25. Of the Expediency of such clandestine Dispatches. —26. A Reflection upon Queen Elizabeth for executing Queen Mary of Scotland. —27. Of the Custome for the Grand Segniour to strangle his Brethren. 28. Lust and Covetousnesse tolerated by the Turks. —29. Christians more importunately intent upon Penall Lawes.—30. Punishments in Turkey not so common as severe: popular Incendiaries removed out of the way, privately. ---The Folly of Sub

jects to rebell, and Rulers to provoke them.
 31. Turkish Honours and Offices not Hereditary. — 32. Nor Estates, — which makes all apply themselves to Trades: The benefits thereof, and mischiefs of Idleness, — 33. Luxury, Excessive Building, Furniture. — 34. Horse-races, Hunting, &c. — avoided (much) by their Poligamy. 35. Their publick Buildings magnificent; which some Christians demolish: Advice to publick Spirits, rather to build Bridges, & mend high-waies
 36 In order to augmentation of Empire, their interest promotes three things. 37 First, Obedience, either sacred, to the Musty. &c. — 38. or Civill, to the Emperour, who is very absolute, 39. Secondly, Parity in Slavery. 40. Thirdly, Fortitude, 41. Eunuchs made Generalls, and why. 42. Janizaries, why unmarried. 43. Quarter seldom granted, or not till after full victory, — 44. which they will not throw away upon poor places. 45. Their Ordinance. 46. Their Food not dainty. 47. Their Expeditions why in Summer: Their Armies so strong, as not to need Reserves, 48. Upon a losse they retreat, without hazarding another, and why. 49. They keep the Souldier

er employed. 50. The Cavalry encouraged; a Fend between them and the Foot; which prevents Conspiracies; the like doth their being raised out of severall Nations. 51. Forts pernicious to such great Princes, though of use to weaker ones. 52. Religion, why not proclaimed the cause of War. Constantinople unworthily lost. 53. They fight not so courageously against those of their owne believe. Success an ill fudge of Truth. 54. The Sword an unfit instrument to Plant Religion. — 55. That of the Mahumetans, why it rather enclines to Hope than Feare; — Contrary to the Popish Goblins, which intimidate Souldiers: The Turks breed up theirs to Valour and Obedience. 56. They count Fate inexorable, yet pray: though Praise were more proper. 57. Mahumetans and Jewes abhorre Christians for their Images and Reall presence. 58. The Turk subtil in his Treaties, and if necessitated to break his word, charges the blame upon his Ministers. — 59. Yet by reason of his strength, is seldome driven to such base shifts as weaker Princes make use of. Perjury of latter times more frequent among Christians, which these Infidels

fidels avoid (in judiciary Trials) by examining witnesses apart, &c. instead of taking their testimonies upon Oath. 60. Why Jewes must turne Christians, before they may become Turks. 61. Opinions of Strangers indulged, and—Courtesans tolerated. 62. The Grand Seniors Revenue employed in his Wars, —his Pleasure. 63. His Wars, by reason of his strength, offensive; and—openly proclaimed, why. The Venetians impolitickly deserted. A Combination of Christians against the Turk, —how unlikely to succeed upon severall accounts: —who should head it? —The Pope, —The Emperour, —The King of Spain, —The Venetians. Expedients to weaken the Turk, —The Jesuits (if the Pope could spare them) to foment Schisme, &c. among them, —To shelter some of the younger Royall Branches, or Grandees, that may head an Army &c. —64. Why the Turk seldome makes Leagues, —sends Ambassadors; or—marries Forraigners, —though he take many Wives. 65. Why the Grand Senior appeares not in publique, but on horseback, and in such splendor; yet takes his Repast and pleasures privately in the Seraglio; The contrary use how disadvantageous.

Advantageous to Christian Princes. 66. His vast Train in Progresse; yet — affable and winning carriage. 67. For Impositions and such like Grievances he useth instruments. — 68. Whom, upon occasion, he either delivers up to the fury of the People, or removes farther off. 69. His Wrath fatal.

70. The Turkish Priests cry up all strange Events for Miracles, as well as the Papists, — whose juggles have been detected by the Learning of this last Age. — 71. Which, together with Printing, the Turk tolerates not; A reflection upon University-Customs. 72. Those Sciences the Turks have, are taught in the Seraglio onely. The multitude of Grammer-schools among us do more hurt than good. In Turkey the Offices of Priest and Lawyer are united; as the Laws of the Jewes, both Divine and Civill, were into one Body by Moses, — The best forme of Government. 73. A modest Censure of, and — 74. An Apologie for universities and Colledges. 75. The Conclusion.



A
DISCOURSE

UPON

Nicolas Machiavell:

OR,

*An impartiall examination of the
justnesse of the Censure com-
monly laid upon him.*



MACHIAVELL is
branded by all, neither
can any absolve him
quite from *Blame*:
Yet, considering he
was not only an *Ita-
lian*, but a *Courtier*,
few can doe lesse than admire his bad for-
tune, to see one man inherit in particular,
the masse of *Reproaches*, due to all *Princes*
and

and *Statesmen* in generall; so far as to stile, in way of Contempt, such *Machiavellians*, who in a truer sense might be termed Followers of *Charles* the fifth, *Lewis* the Eleventh, or *Henry* the seventh. By this, embracing the bare *Apparitions* of *Vertue* and *Vice*, without observing the true *Substance*, which they quite let passe; marking for *Blemishes* in precedent times, what *Historians* note for *Prudence*, if not *Beauty* in ours: So as he that impartially examines the *lives* of those formerly named (who are yet no *Prodigies* in the Nature of Government) may find more *Evill*, than can be deduced out of this man's *Scenes*, or (for ought we know) the worst of his *Thoughts*: Yet they have *Wisdom* inscribed on their *Tombs*, by the *Penners* and *Readers* of their *Stories*, in which they lie quiet under the favour of some elegant *Apologie*, hitherto denied to *Machiavell* by ignorant and ungratefull *Posterity*.

He was *Secretary* to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incom-

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comparable *History*, with other Bookes, so full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to asperce them; onely it endeavours to attach some stragling expressions in a small Pamphlet, called his *Prince*, which are with farre lesse Charity remembred, than so many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was employed in honourable *Embassies*, is manifested from Story; And what umbragious and false Politicians *Embassadors* Professions oblige them to, the *Transactions* of all *States* abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* saith, *The best of Women with their Petty-coates devest their Modesty, to render themselves more gratefull to their Husbands Embraces*; So *Publique Ministers* can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their *Country*, without exchanging, for worldly Policy, a great part of that Candor which should be current in the more sacred Commerce of honest and religious men. Nor can any expect lesse hope of

of forgivenesse in relation to such as by these *oblique means* advance the preservation of *God's people*, then the *Midwives of Egypt* may be supposed to have had, who purchased themselves *Houses* by such uncertaine Protestations as, it extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not choose but confesse, and appeare to all, little better than *Lies*. Few humane actions can be separated from the drosse of *Deceit*: Only such are of best esteeme, as carry the greatest mixture of *Charity*: Which makes me humbly conceive, this *learned man* deserves lesse *censure*; since such Princes only as *Jeroboam* (whose Interest is alwaies to damnifie others in order to their owne preservation) and not their *Instruments*, may justly be said to cause *Israel* to sin.

His was no new *Designe*, but in all ages projected by the most faithfull *Historians*, who make it their businesse to personate and represent the behaviours of Princes, though never so indecent; and did ever purchase the more
applause,

ch a applause, according to the greater or
 the lesse faculty they had to doe it to the
 a the life. Neither can the strictest Religion
 pofe condemn the *Speculation* of *Ill*, without
 selves betraying her Professors, if not her
 ions selfe: For with what vast disadvan-
 of tage should a good *David* cope with
 cons a son of *Belial*, were there not pru-
 bet dent *Hushai's* to countermine the In-
 in be sidies of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to
 eit learn men in power the art to catch
 a their wily Neighbours in their owne
 Cha Traps? Nor doe we find his *Direc-*
 con tions shun'd in a lesse publick Com-
 lesse merce than that of Princes, since it
 as lies not out of the way of Instance to
 s to prove, some sharp inveighers against
 xne *Machiavell* have attained to *Church-Pre-*
 tru firments, under the favour of worse or
 gra the same Principles, *Alexander* the sixt
 all ascended to the Papacy.

Doe any lay *obscenity* to the charge of
 full *Albertus*, or is he not rather stiled
 esse the Great, for having so plainly set
 ha open the Closet of Nature? If any
 on sort of men have reason to tax this
 ore Author, they are onely *Kings* and
 se *Persons*

Persons in power: For as it is the Custom of *light women*, imperiously to blame all broad expressions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; so *Statesmen* may with more shew of Justice, complaine of the publication of such *Axiomes*, that being undiscovered, their use might be with more secrecy and successe.

Neither doth any greater *Reproach* redound to him from such as pervert them to the *prejudice* of others, than to a *Fencer*, if his Scholars make use of his skill in the destruction of their Friends: It being his only aime to teach them how to guard themselves, and resist others that shall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to assault them.

Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Customes of other Nations are the Parents of these spurious *Censures*; for had they been where he writ, these *Documents* would be no more admired, than the most monstrous of those *Chinnes* we observe in *England*, are, in comparison of some

to be found at the feet of the
Alps.

Neither will a small abatement appear in his *Charge*, if the *dayes* he lived in be seriously considered: His misfortune was, to be contemporary with Pope *Alexander* the sixth, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Cesar Borgia*: And what these were, is sufficiently apparent to men versed in *Story*; a study such proclaim themselves ignorant of, that can so bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavell*: For were they conversant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his: *Rules* would seeme rather impertinent, and below the *prælice* of *Princes*, than to deserve such severe *Reproofes*; the sting of which lies in their owne Ignorance, not the more usefull Knowledge, they condemn.

No Age abounded more with *Action*, or shewed the *instability* of worldly *Honours* plainer- than that he writ in: Therefore for a man wholly conversant in *Court-employments* (where it is thought a Lunacy to look
be.

beyond second Causes, or to act upon the credit of any higher Providence (than their owne) worse things in reason might be expected, than his, which are really no other than the *History* of wise *Impieties*, long before legible; and since imprinted with new Additions in the hearts of every *ambitious Pretender*; yet He undergoes a *Censure* equall with those that commit farre greater wickednesse, than his or any Pen else is able to expresse.

Divers *Estates*, in *Italy*, did in his time desire, or actually change their *Lords*: A juncture opportune to teach nothing so naturally, nor require any thing more necessary than *Aphorismes of Policy*. For *Naples* was torne out of the house of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people opprest under Father and Son. *Lodovic* took the Duke dome of *Millan* from young *Galeas*, with the like treachery *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He saw the Descent of the *French* into *Italy* winked at by *Pope Alexander*

der the sixt, in expectation of raising
an House for his Son *Cesar*, out of
the gleanings of the *French King's*
Conquest; In which he prayed with-
out his *Beads*, being so far out, in the
account, as that after *Charles* had got
a large share in *Italy* (through the
mediation of the *Jealousie* of *Princes*,
no lesse than the *Discontent* of the *Peo-
ple*, arising from the uneasie posture
they lay in, so as all Changes were
considered with delight) he entred
Rome, forced his *Holinesse* into *St.*
Angelo, from whence after some time,
he came out swearing to such
Capitulations, as the victorious *King*
was pleased to profer him: And
though at his reception, the *French*
King kissed his foot, yet he durst not
trust to his single *Infalibity*, but
took his Son *Cesar* for an *Hostage*;
and to hide it from the *Envy* of other
Catholick Princes, he covered he de-
tention with the title of an *Embassie*,
still to reside neere him in token of
Amity: But, not long after, *Cesar*
procuring an *Escape*, his Father, con-
trary

trary to his Oath, contracted a *League* against the *French*, so much to the prejudice of that Kingdomes affaires, as it may not only excuse *Machiavell*, but all writers of *Politicks*, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the strictest *Stipulations* made with Neighbours; found seldome observed, but broken as oft as kept by absolute Powers, to the irreparable losse of the weaker Party; Whereas an Errour in private Persons may be expunged by an after-Game, or helped by complaint, &c. Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in such cases are saved only by their unbelieve, and seldome perish, but through unadvised confidence, in giving too much credit to the Protestations of lesse religious performers of *Covenants*; which rise and fall, not according to the more constant Standard of Religion, but the various successe of worldly occasions: And he that knowes not how rare a Commodity *Probity* is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much lesse a

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competent Judge of *Machiavell*.

Leagues, *Truces*, *Compacts*, and *Peace*, are become so crack'd and invalid, through a dayly miscarriage in performance, as they serve for little better use, then to buy in smaller Territories, such as *Lorraine* and the *lesser Cities* and *Principalities* in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little else to trust to, but the promises of Protection they receive from more *Potent Monarchs*, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the strongest reason of State, to balance them upon the accesse or desertion of every fortune good or bad.

Which makes *Oaths* among Statesmen, upon a true survey, to signifie nothing; at best, more danger than Profit: Binding only such, as, in relation to Impotency or Honesty, stand in least need; And becoming, like Juglers Knots, no waies astrictive to the more Potent, who are ever able to elude them by slights, or break them by power. Now since *Italy*, for whose Meri-

Meridian he calculated his *Advisors*, consists, for the most part, of weak pieces, it shewes him more excusable, if not commendable, in fitting them so accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their *Stipulations* and *Covenants*, you cannot think it reasonable that a Subject to the Duke of Florence should have advised his Patron to begin; so contrary to the examples of those times, as it was knowne, the Pope did then contract an Amity with the *Grand Seignior*, which, in Charity, may be thought he meant not to observe, though for his sake, he suffered himselfe to be hired to poyson his *Brother* (fled into *Christendome* for feare of tasting the fate of the rest after his Father's death) and might have been of great advantage to any that had designed to abate the *Ottoman Empire*. Now after the breach of Faith, so contrary to the promise made to this poor *Infidell*, at his being put into his hands, and his *Holiness's* owne interest, in

case

case the *Turke* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot but be more passion than discretion, to condemne *Machiavell* for his reasonable Advice in relation to the *Oaths* of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles* the French King lose *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being snatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King: And the Pope and his Son, by mistake, poysoned with the same Bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for others; by which the Father was taken away presently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leisure to live and see what he had gotten, torn out of his possession, and himselfe forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whose service he was murdered.

It were heartily to be wished, that unlawfull practises were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the traffick of all the Courts in the known world; where the marks, the Text hath set upon *Zero-boam*

roboam, (who according to the Dialect of *England*, for I Find it not so else where) may be styled, *The Machiave of the Jewes*, cannot scare Princes out of the same path: For what King hath failed to set up altars at *Bethel and Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the people going to *Jerusalem*? When *Saul* was but a Subject, he sought to the Prophet for his Fathers *Asses*, but after his assumption to the Throne, a Witch is consulted about the successe of a *Battell*. *Christ* saith, *Not many great, &c. are called: Men out-sides*, at Court, are soft, but their hearts (within) seared and hard.

Pride is the roote of all Evil; which Princes doe not only foster in themselves but water by preferments in all others: they find able to promote the ends of it, whose effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Masse of *Impieties*, *Ambition* is able to commit: That prompted *Phocas* to kill his Master the *Emperour*, *Cesar* to ruine the most glorious *Republique* ever the Sun saw: It teacheth Children to pull undecently the Crownes from their Fathers Heads: it is this that fills Hell with Soules, Hea

ven with Complaints, and the Earth with
Bloud; It made *Charles* the fifth, to arme
himselfe against him, he believed, if he
believed any thing, to be the *Vicar* of our
Saviour, and would have led him in tri-
umph with *Francis* the *French* King, made
his Prisoner the same yeare by a like fate
of War: Neither did *Philip* the second
do lesse then mingle the bloud of his then
onely Son *Charles*, with the great quan-
tity he spilt upon the face of *Europe*; yet
his thirst unsatisfied, he set a new world
abroach in *America*, which he let run, till
it was as empty of people, as himselfe of
Pity. Are not the Heads of Nations pre-
sented by *Historians*, like that of the *Bap-
tist*, in *Chargers* of blood? Nay what are
Chronicles lesse than Registers of Murders
& projects to bring the about, to the best
advantage of ambitious Pretenders? Yet
none are so severely blamed that writ the.

I would not be so far mistaken, as to
be thought to apologize for tyrannicall
Principles and practices, knowing they
render both Doers and Sufferers misera-
ble: my aim being onely to prove, that if
Machiavell stood legally indicted, he
could not be condemned by these at the

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Helme in any State, who in all ages were his Peers, & could not therefore in equity take up a stone against him. Bad advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver. Besides, I cannot believe, the generality of those that cry out upon him in publique, ever saw or read his Writings, but take their Clamour upon trust, as they do against *Julian*, stiled the *Apostate*, how truly, I leave to such as are better able to judge, than thousands of men so impudent as to extend incomparable VVits upon the erring Rack of *Common Fame*, in imitation of their ignorant Ancestors, who looked upon *Mathematicians* as Conjurers, though VVisdome hath justified these her Children so farre, as to inform the world, that no Learning is a greater enemy to Falshood then theirs.

Yet *Machiavell* is so modest as to ask, VVho had not rather be *Titus* then *Nero*? But to him that will be a *Tyrant*, he proposeth a way least prejudiciall to his temporall Estate: As if he should say, Thou art already at defiance with Heavē, therefore to preserve thee an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to be performed, no not by the worst of *Usurpers*; it being

is far beyond example, that any Tyrant hath done all the mischief requisite to his own & Childrens safety, as that the best of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the first he propoeth *Caesar Borgia*, for the most absolute pattern, who used all Artifices to remove every impediment standing between him & his desires, but his owne being sick at the time of his Fathers death; which perplexed his affaires so, as he could not bring in a Pope of his owne *Faction*; for want of which, his so wel-built Designs (as he fondly supposed) fell to the ground, as most of their do, that prosecute Empire by oblique meanes; into whose lap Divine Justice not seldome throws Destruction, or some louder Discontents, that overvot the pleasure, Ambition takes in the accomplishment of her ends.

But since it is sometime the will of God (for Reasons best known to himselfe) to give a happy successe to bad meanes wisely contrived, why should this *Florentine* be so bitterly inveyed against, who cannot be denyed but to have had at least as virtuous Principles, for a *Member* of the *Roman Church*, as *Alexander the sixt*, that

was Head of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the aire he breathed in so far, that it could not be so well guessed, when he spake true or false, as by the abundance of *Oaths* he used when he meant to deceive.

Wordly VVisdome is recommended thus in the person of the *unjust Steward*, & I pray, what doth *Machiavell* say more of *Cesar Borgia*, but that he was a *perfect Tyrant*? And if he presume so far on your (better supposed) *Honesty*, as to propose him for an *Example*, yet it is still of *Evill* & what fitter pattern can there be for a *Usurper*, than one of his own Coat.

Neither are the *Rules* he layes down waved by the best of men, if wise: for who executes not *ingratefull actions*, by *Deputations*, acceptable in Person? And all these *Documents* he gives only to a *Prince*; for had he assigned this practice to a *Son*, or any else circumscribed in a narrower room than a *Kingdome*, he might be more justly condemned: But undertaking to make a *Grammar* for the right understanding the *Dialect* of *Government*, why is he blamed for setting down the most *Generall Rules*, and such as all *Statesmen* make use of, either to benefit themselves, or

or hurt others? That they make no conscience of falsehood, is manifest by *Lewis* the eleventh, that learned Father in *King-craft*, who pronounced him ignorant of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That *Breach of Faith* in private Persons, is not only destructive to well-being but also damnable, he cannot deny. but *Princes* pretend larger Charters in relation to a more universall Commerce, which they extend to *Embassadors*, & *Ministers of State*, as counting all things honourable that are safe: & if this be an *Evill*, it is the *Kings*, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a *Body Politick* is like that of a *Man*, which when it is altogether, shews outwardly a beautifull and comely sight; but search into the Entrails from whence the true Nourishment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The truth is, *Machiavell* is observed to have raked deeper in this, than his Predecessors, which makes him smell, as he doth, in the nostrills of the Prince and ignorant; whereas those of more Prudence and Experience, know it is the most naturall savour of the *Court*, especially where the Prince is of the *first Head*; of which, such as come in by Succession may abate much. H 3

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS
Upon the
King of Sweden's Descent
INTO
GERMANY.



Within an Age or two, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according as the World is enclined to Happiness or Infelicity, there hath still risen up some *Ambitious Pretender* or other, that hath laboured to build himselfe a Name by the effusion of humane *Bloud*: And these offering *fine Subjects for Discourse* and *Romances*, are by the Antients *Filed Heroes*, by the Moderns, *Conquerours*, and men of *high spirits*. The first of these we heare of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himselfe; To him *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and innumerable others succeeded, who for the most part stand highly registered

stred in *Historicall Calenders*, because they afford good *Pens* an easie way to render themselves *inamortall* by a neat expression of their Butcheries; when indeed they both deserve rather the *curse* of Mankind, the one for doing, the other for recommending to Posterity such *cruell examples*, without giving them the true name of *woolfish Ambition*, which all merit, who infest others Territories out of no more pious reason than *Augmentation of Empire*; The principall Errand, however palliated (to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded *Mottos* in their Flags, which they hold out to the People. And I believe, if God had continued the *King of Sweden* in life and *sucesse*, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devastation, as his *Ancistors* and *Goths* did in *Italy*, where they ruined such *Monuments*, as time could not have yet demolished, but that she received assistance from their barbarous hands. And now I have set him under his naturall colours, I am bold to maintaine, that he that looks to the end of his Prospective, shall see his *Actions* reach beyond the *Darings* of all (in that kind) that ever

went before him, as may appeare by these *Circumstances*.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in *sloth & Luxury*, but on a Prince whose *Prudence* was lately awakened with the losse of a *Crown* & his Peoples *valour* new whetted by regaining it: Being so far from wanting all necessities for war, that, besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such *Megazines* as were provided by the *Electors* and his party: So as it may with reason be believed, that if the *Swede's* little finger had been in the endeavour to lessen the *Austrian Family*, when the *Palsgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death, had possessed the *Emperiall Throne*.

2. *No party* (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard to call him in: All the *Forces* he had, or could raise, appearing to the world as *inconsiderable*; till he had shewed them such a *Miracle*, as a puissant Army upon one Horse: After whom they ran to gather up the Spoile, who, till then, had their heels shackled with *Cesar's* Successes.

3. The *Duke of Saxony*, the most potent Prince of the *Protestant* party, had no stronger Title to his *Estate*, than what he derived from *Cesar's* power who had placed him there for the like fault in his *Elder Branch* (which

yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he must have fallen into, had he yeilded succour or assistance to the Swedish Crown:

4 He had seen the King of Denmark coming on the like errand, baffled; A Prince inferiour to him in little but *Valour* and *Temperance*; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the Swede could properly have called his own.

5. The jealous hatred, this and all other Nations have to these Northern people, as desirous by nature to better their Heaven, with an incroachment upon Neighbours, that live under a more auspicious Sun.

6. The new *Protests of Fealty* made by the Princes & Hans Towns to the Austrian Family, procured by his late *Victories*; the terror of which had so cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their *Liberty*;

7. The assurance he had, that James of England, who refused to hear his owne Honour & the cries of his Children, would never listen to the voice of a Stranger, that had no better Cards to shew for his future Successe, than *Valour* and good Conduct, in which the old man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

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8. The *Hollanders*, his most considerable Friends could not help him, but by way of *Diversion*; being far off both in respect of distance and quality of their Power; the *States* chiefe strength lying in *Ships*, no waies serviceable to the *Swede* in his *Inland Expeditions*: And to counterpoise this, as if Fate had renounced all assistance but his owne, the *Duke of Loraine* had cast himselfe blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*, with whom was as madly joyned the *French King's Brother*, both in Alliance and Person at that time very considerable, in regard of the known weaknesse of the *K. of France* his body, and the *surmises* of his Sterility, thought to be supplied by the *Cardinal's* industry.

9. He could not expect such cordiall help from *France*, as a naturall Prince of *Germany*; because upon successe he was ready to assume the Title of *Emperour* to himselfe, the only baite likely to draw in the most *Christian King*: Neither could that *Nation* be assured, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them; *Ambition* swallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the tast of any former obligations,

obligations. And for the *French King's* being chosen by the Reformed Princes *Head of the Union*; He knew that King looked upon it, rather as a scorn put upon *James of England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himselfe; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by necessity, in that juncture of occasions.

10. For *Money*, accounted by all the onely *Oyle*, able to make the Engines of *VVar* move, he could not have much, being numbred among the *poorest Kings* in *Europe*. And to make this defect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the *Emperour* like a *Colossus*, had not onely a leg of *Iron* in *Germany*, but one of *Gold* in *Spain* to assist it upon the least offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till *Succeſſe* had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hefſ. Viſenberg* & the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest *Neutrality*: Or if they were so mad as to rush themselves into a sudden declaration for him, there was a large compensation made to the other side, by the unfeigned assistance of the *Duke of Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchased by the
rich

rich donative of the Palatinate, together with the principall *Lay-Electorate*; which could hold no longer good, than the *Emperour* was maintained in a Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Wallestin* and the *Emperours Veteran Militia* had parted from the last Action with some *discontents*: But this is so ordinary at the *Disbanding of Armies*, when there is no farther use of them, that it could not infuse so deaf an *ill Spirit* into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the sound of the next *Advance money* would soon cast it out: And, one to command in chiefe was not hard to be found, where the late *Combustions* had created so large a choice.

Had he been *beaten*, or *sneaked* out of the Action, as *Denmark* did: *such Reasons* might have been upbraided to him, as rashly neglected: But since is he able to *break* through them all, they multiplye the *weight* of *stranger* of *his owne*, which led him on against These; not to be found but in his owne Head; and the confidence he had of his *Conduct* and *Valour*; doing many things where-

appeared a *Hand* more powerfull than *Fortune's*, who was not able to make her selfe *Mistresse* of his *Sword*, but by taking away his *Life*: And that done, *Victory* had been so much *his*, that it could not be de-
stroyed to his *dead carcase*.

If the *strength* of the *Enemy* adds to the *Conquest*, who could cope with a stronger, & upon more disadvantages? so as who ever reads the *Advises* of those times, shall find that the *King of Sweden* made, not only *Rome*, but *Constantinople*, to tremble; the *Turk* standing in such admiration of his *Valour*, that he lost his activity, and did not only forbear to make *in-rodes* into *Germany*, which upon selfe occasions he used to doe, but gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he should have worke enough to defend himselfe.

And had the *Swedish Sword* made as deep impressions in his *Empire*, as it left in the *German*, they would have been looked upon as *Miracles*; And, instead of *Antichrist* (which by reason of his success, some *Catholiques* fondly call'd him), he would have been styled, *The Champion of the Gospell*.

All the advantage I can find the King had, out of himselfe, was the Emperours Ignorance of that Common *Lesson*, so often repeated to the Prejudice of the wisest Princes, That *Slighted parties are followed with the greatest train of inconveniencies, in relation to such as despise them.*

Now if men esteeme of Soldiers, by the quantity of *Blood* and *Land* they have wasted, *King Philip* the second of *Spain* will out-goe them all, in his Conquest of *Peru*, and the rest of those weak people. But if Reason may be heard, the least part of *Germany* asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies*, or all that *Alexander* and his like are able to boast of.

A DISCOURSE UPON
PISO and VINDEX,

Who both conspired the Death of

NERO,

Though with a contrary Success.



PISO a Noble man born, beloved of the People, drawn into the *Action* rather out of the perswasion of others, than his owne affection, associated with the choicest Wits in the Roman Empire, followed by the bravest Spirits, & armed with pretences that were proof against all the darts Reason or Religion could cast at them; yet miscarried in the midst of these Advantages, falling soon after into the same Grave, he had most justly measured out for *Nero*,

The foundation of whose Ruine was laid by *Vindex*, that had no stronger materials to work his destruction, than what he hammered out of his own invention, & the advantage he took from the love of a broken *Legion*, no way considerable in

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respect of the rest of the Princes Forces, that stood at this time firme to him, having had their affections newly warmed by divers *Largesses* and a daily *Impunity*; ströger engagemēts in such corrupt times, than all the virtue & piety incidēt to flesh,

Its true, *Vindex* never lived to see the effect of his brave attempt, as the most stately Fabricks are cōmonly least enjoyed by those that build them: Yet the Reasons why his beginnings did succeed rather than *Piso's*, may be some of these.

1. Of which the first lies hid in the dark Book of *Fatality*, where all things are kept from perishing till they are arrived at the utmost period *Providence* hath set them, which is for that time as constant in the preservation of the Instruments of her wrath, as the Dispensers of her Clemency; But when the criticall minute, appointed for their destruction, is come, they lie leuell with their feet, whose hands before were not able to reach them.

2. The manner of *Piso's* attempt, which was to assassinate *Nero*: An endeavour no lesse indecent for men of Honor, than unproper for a Tyrant, who, as he is Enemy to all, so ought he to perish by the hands of all;

which

which, by a *Clandestine* dispatch, had not only lost the pleasure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it any degree of possibility likely to be concealed, & therefore the harder to succeed, having been communicated to so many, and of so different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to themselves, could not choose but reveale it.

3. As the body of Man, be it never so sound, is maintained in being by contention of humors, the blood flying to the heart upon any sudden assault; But if a Bruise be made in a *remote* place, it falls not out so, but affords the virulent matter leisure to gather together: Thus are bad Princes with more ease & safety destroyed by a remote & open hostility, than a sudden and private attempt: For, neerer men see daily so many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, studying more their own safety, than the freedome of the Common-wealth.

Besides the *familiarity* with Tyranny makes it so domesticall, that those within the *Verge of the Court* know not well how to live without it: Therefore they must be tender of his preservation, to maintain their

their own power, having rendred themselves either actively or passively as odious to the people as their Master.

4. As any thing that ministers occasion of discourse, the farther it extends, the more sound it makes; and he that gathereth Snow, hath a *Ball* proportionable to the *distance* he rolls it in: So those that cry out *a far off*, upon the abuses of the *Courts* doe not only draw attention from some about them, but tickle the eares, and stir up the Spirits of all such as have felt, or do fear the weight of Oppression. Nay, such persons themselves, as at a nearer distance would, out of hope or feare, labour to quench it, will a great way off, look upon a combustion with delight: *Novelty* being of that nature (especially following things ill) that it raiseth more expectation of good, than it can destroy.

5. *Open force* doth assure the *Malecontents*, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended: to which the soft whispers of a few confederates cannot enough perswade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannical Governours, by such instruments to entrap others for whose lives and estates they

they long. But in this case, *Repora*, that represents nothing in its due proportion, instead of the danger that *is*, musters up all that *may be*: And in this the concerned Tyrant seconds her, who looking through the false Spectacles of guilt & fear, reads his fortune worse, than possibly it is written, and above prevention; so farre, as though *Hope* (the last friend in such adversities) cannot quite be shook off, she fixeth upon lower objects, than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drave him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to satisfie his Party, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As foolish an opinion in him, as it had been madnesse in them to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exasperated Prince; whose *Revenge* cannot be buried but in his grave, especially if it respects his Subjects: For though himselfe might be of a nature to forgive it, those about him could not, but would be ready to incite him to take it upon all occasions.

6. Where there are *many* that *conspire*, the apprehension of any one will soon *detect* the rest; whereas the like resolution taken by a single person, and not communicated,

nicated, seldome failes, being secure from all fear, and hastened by no accident but what opportunity presents

7. *Ill Counsell* is rather to be hearkned unto, than *none* at all, there being a possibility to mend it with better: whereas a *dull suspension* looseth time, a thing irrecoverable, and doth not only assure the *Adversaries*, but disheartens *Friends*, giving them leisure to listen to the free offers of the contrary Party.

It may be observed in the fall of *Nero*, that *the meanest Conspiracy* is not to be slighted. For in a crazed Common-wealth, the least jangling will bring the multitude about the eares of their Governour; who, having offended all, knowes not whom to trust, that hath any power with the people: And this perceived by his own, they desert him, or by his destruction labour to purchase their particular safety: For what hope can another have in him, that distrusts himselfe?

He that hath lost the *love of his People*, cannot be certain of his present safety or moderate ruine when it comes; for the most part sudden in regard of his own knowledge, though presaged and wished by all the world besides.

No

No prudence can maintain a *Tyrant* long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inspection into his disposition, by exposing his Agents to their mercy; yet at last the succession of the same *abuses* will direct them to the true cause, which being once discovered to lye in his Nature, nothing he doth shall please but be suspected for more evill, than it can in probability produce: The worlds *Opinion* exercising no lesse authority over Kings, than meaner men. Besides, the *delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may stop the progresse of a present Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to resist a future distemper.

After the disorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turnes thousands his enemies in an instant, that out of Custome or Conscience prayed for him the day before. Who are more solicitous to advance his *destruction*, than careful to choose a *Successour* that might be fit to govern: Their *Discretion* extending no farther than their *Nourishment*, which they only receive frō *band to month*. Therefore all the use that can be made of this popular

popular Monster is, during their first heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the same *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is easier to expell a *Tyrant*, than to find a Prince in all points worthy to succeed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in *Swarmes*, they care not, what *Bush* they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Emperiall Diadem from under *Piso*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having shewed her selfe as great an enemy to a *fresh Family* as Vice, to whom *Cruelty* is for the most part more necessary than *Clemency*, especially towards the *Nobility*, who are observed to carry the most naturall affection to the *old line*, that first wound them up to honour.

I would be loath to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immense *Treasure* he left behind him doth, not onely, by consequence, accuse him of too much *Covetousnesse*, as some Authors are bold to lay *Ambition* to his charge, which the worse became him, because impossible to be satisfied but at the cost of his Maker.

But
admit

admit this *Stoick* in outward profession,
though an *Epicure* in his Gardens, &c.
to be as good as he desired to be thought,
yet if he had; not restored to the *Romans*
their lost *liberty*, but sought to establish
the *Government* in 'his own house, he had
only imitated their *Charity*, that take a
slave out of one cruell Family to put him
into another, that might in a small time
prove as bad: or if he had governed mo-
derately all his life, it had been like the
good day in a Feaver, which is so short
and uncertaine, that it takes away all taste
of Ease and Delight, &c.

A

A
DISCOURSE

Upon the

Greatnesse & Corruption

OF

The Court of Rome.

Here is nothing, *Idlenesse* and *Peace* makes not worse, *Labor* and *Exercise* better: The *Tree* that stands in the *Weather*, roots best, & deepest, The running *Water*, & *Aire* that is agitated, are most wholsome and sweet. The cause of this may be deduced from Gods eternall Decree, That nothing in Nature should remain idle and without motion: This also extends to the *Children of Grace*, who goe more nimble about the works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the stormes of *Persecution*, than when they have nothing but the smooth voice of *Prosperity* to allure and perswade them. The *Martyrs* professed *Christ* more boldly, amidst the flames of the hottest *Persecutions*, than we dare do in the *Sunshine* of the Gospel.

God

if they have the luck to meet, they presently part, mens hearts being ordinarily too narrow to entertain goodnesse and worldly pomp.

The *Churches* we read of in the *New Testament*, with whom the Holy Ghost was so familiar, as to direct particular *Letters* unto them, are not now to be found. Onely *Rome* brags, she remains the same in purity of *Doctrine*, though for *Manners* she is as corrupt as her elder Sister *Sodom*, so that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the *Court of Rome* is the Center. Yet these plead their Title with God himselfe, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly felicity: Forgetting that it is against the example of all times, that any Nation, much lesse a Church, should so long saile under the merly gale of earthly prosperity, & not long ere this discharge her self of that rich lading she was fraught withall, when she traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive times: There having been such a successiō of imperious greatnesse in that *Chaire*, as *Rome* is now more like the proud & triumphant *Chapel of Antichrist*, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the calamities that have

I think - because of this

have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her own Ambition; in seeking to enlarge her power at the cost & prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be styled Punishments than Persecutions.

You cast your eyes on no Story where the *villany* of *Popes* is not at large discovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should indow with infallibility of Judgment Monsters so visibly corrupted? We find, the Holy Ghost did under the *Law* hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward *Ceremony*; how then should he under the brighter light of the *Gospel*, suffer himselfe to be poured out of one uncleane Vessell into another; beginning again with a *Conjurer* where he lett with a *Sodomite*.

Yet they say, *Rome is the true Church*, out of which there is no Salvatiō: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity & Reason tell us, Gods *Church* is as *universall* as the Earth; and shall one day be gathered together under Christ the Head. Now in the meane time, that *harmony* of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wished, than hoped for. In *Paul's* time

Cerise of East-Witney - dux

some made conscience of eating things sacrificed to Idols, others of Circumcision, yet he condemnes them not for schismaticall: And it is but a weak evasion to say, He bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church: For in these dayes of knowledge she is as infantine in some places, as she was then: where he that taught had the strength of *Miracles* to justify his Doctrine, which these want, & are driven to this shift in lieu of them, to cozen the people with such as are supposititious. Now if there be no salvation out of the Church of Rome, not to speak of our selves, &c. what Charity is it to think all the Water cast away, that is poured in Christs name, upon the faces of those Christians in Greece, Russia, and remoter places, to which this Ages curiosity & covetousnesse hath taught the way? This makes me think there is no room for such monopolizing Opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the Pope.

After the Piety of the first Bishops of Rome had purchased them Reputation, and that God had not onely opened the hearts of Potentates to receive the Gospell, but their hands to build and endow Churches: They being

Bucker - Bishop

being advanced first to the Dignity of *Arch-Bishops*, thence to *Patriarchs*, & so at last to the *Papal* Supremacy (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities sake was written *Pa Pa*) exchanged their Piety for Promotion; It being the Custome of fraile Humanity, to conclude goodnesse at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled Zeal, wisely observed by them to be the hottest, the *Popes* were able to lead King and People whither they pleased, & in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themselves.

Now as *Policy* is not able to keep long the right way to *Heaven*, so at last it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon higher Jurisdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting strength of their own to maintain, they sheltered them under the *Donation* of such *Princes*, as had no better titles to their *Crownes*, than was derived from an *Usurpation* over the weaknesse of those in forme possession; glad of the *Popes* Protection, because they found the generality

rality of men, either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their estimate of the truth or Falshood of the Titles, and legality of the *Claims of Princes*, according as they were more or lesse current in the opinion of their *Clergie*, whose judgments depended wholly on the Bishop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate *Titles*, out of no weaker Reason of State, than they at first desired it; Laying up with all diligence their *Petitions* and his *Grants*, to remain as *Precedents* for their posterity to be guided by: Therefore it is no wonder, why these *Tyrants & Usurpers* should strengthen the power of the *Pope*, since the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant excess of that of *Rome*: which is so improved, as the *Emperour* hath, for many ages, received his *Crowne* from their Successors, to whom his Predecessors had formerly given the *Miter*.

The cloud of *Ignorance*, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their jugling undiscovered: For that little *Learning* extant in those times was wholly included in the *Monasticall Clergy*, (the *Laitie* being intent upon

upon nothing but Wars and Pleasure) so as they had opportunity to make all *Books* and *Records* speak in their favour; which being *Manuscripts*, & so but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Besides being prohibited *Marriage*, they did neither respect nor acknowledge either *Posterity* or *Alliance*, than those to succeed in the same places, of whom they had so religious a care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more *Power* & *Immunities* then they found them: Making it an Article of the faith they owed to their Profession, to advance the *Clergy*, and suppress the *Laitie*: And if this was the End, they esteemed no Meanes ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and necessity of wicked and illegitimate *Princes*, they freed their whole *Society* from the Jurisdiction of the temporall *Magistrate*, not suffering them to be liable to any *punishments*, but those eternal, & such as their own superiours shal think fit to lay upon them; seldome suitable to the fault, unlesse in case of *Schisme* from their generall Tenents: & in this their Jealousie,

no lesse than prudence makes them very severe. Now having purchased *Ease, Honour, and Impunity*, such as were *Poor, Guilty, or Ambitious*, besides *Younger Brothers*, and those in *Deb*, entered their *Fellowship*; which freed them from present want and feare of punishment for former Offences, how capitall soever: And these being, for the most part, of the best naturall abilities soon learned the skill so to work on the consciences of Dying people, and those affrighted with their sins, that the *Church* was left Heire of the best part of *Christendome*. And taking encouragement from the blinde Zeal then raigning, (which till *Printing* had opened a way to Knowledge, rendred all things possible unto them) they did not onely make use of such profitable *Errors* as their forefathers left them, but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the splendid titles of *things necessary & of religious use*; Amongst which were *Images*, brought in at first only to encourage others to imitate their constancy, whom they saw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Persecuters of those Times: Of the *Crosse*, wore

wore anciently only for a *Cognisance*, they have made a Tutelary God, looking no higher in their Extremities: The blessed *Saints* were scandalized with the Worship given to them, & their *Reliques*; whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, they made *Protectors* of their *Castell*, & smaller *Pleasures*, as *Hawking*; *Hunting*, &c. And because the *Bible* did not, in their opinions, afford a Store sufficient for all uses, they have added a number more, as may be found in the *Legend*.

To the *Monks*, and all sorts of *Friars*, the *Popes* have successively given immense *Priviledges* and *Indulgences*, wisely considering, they gain them victories, without the *Sword*, & are a strong & faithfull *Militia*, fed & paid by the respective *Princes* of *Christendome*, who though they know they depend on a *Forraigne Power*, yet few dared to explode them: so sharp and terrible was their fear of the *Knife*, and more deeply wounding dart of *Excommunication*. And because, in case all *Kings* should have joyned, it might have gone hard with his *Holinesse*, he kept them employed abroad at the *Holy War*, or at Enmity one with another, or at least at Unity with himselfe, by maintaining their *usurped*.

ped Titles, or dispēsing with their *Incestuous* or *Adulterous* Marriages. But finding, in these latter dayes, Knowledge hath exposed him to a *Reformation*, & that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his *Temporalties*, or what, under the notion of *Spirituals*, he is pleased to call *His*, a matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predecessors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Conclusion; That *he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*; He most politicly call'd in the *Inquisition*, which turneth no lesse to the profit of the *Secular Prince* (who hath all he dislikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preservation of the *Ecclesiasticks*, and his *Holynesse's* power from falling under ordinary Dispute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whose errors remain to this day in Credit, because it is death to question the Truth of them.

No man can say the *Pope* imitates *Peter*, except in denying his *Master*; who following the example of *Christ*, did in humility wash his Companions feet, which this doth in jest, during the *holy week*, as they call it, but suffers his own to be, in ear-

nest, kiss'd by Kings & Emperours. It is true, he styles himselfe the *Servant of Servants*, but is content to be worshipped under the title of *Lord of Lords*: Nay some of his Flatterers have given him the name of a *God*, yet with *Paul & Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloathes, saying, *He is a man subject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather seeks to seem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the world, *That he cannot erre*, a power God hath wholly reserved to himselfe, or if communicated (which I will not now dispute) it is onely to the Church in generall, when, in his seare they shall meet to determine matters of Religion. Which is so contrary to the nature of his Greatnesse, that no sound is so terrible to him, as that of a *General Council*, a thing this Age cannot hope to see free & entire, by reason of the contrary Interests of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if such interruptions had not been, so undecent a proceeding should never have taken place, as was in the *Council of Trent*; where the *Emperor* suffered the *Pope* to be *Party & Judge*, & the *Bishops* bereft of all power, either to propose or determine. Nor were the *Plaintiffs* admitted to more fa-

vour or liberty of Disputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themselves condemned; so as, in conclusion, though this *Synod* was desired only to abate the power, & reform the abuses of the *Court of Rome*, it was managed by them with so much Policy, that it did rather much strengthen & confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greatest things in dispute between *Papist* and *Protestant*, are matters concerning *Profit* or *Honour*, which may satisfy any not delighted with blindnesse, that they were brought in by the diligence of the *Priests*, taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that such amongst them as are wise, conversant in history, & acquainted with the present practise of the *Court of Rome*, are foully to be suspected of *Atheisme*: because Conscience can never be periwaded against a convincing experience: which is also made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church, the farther from God*: For such abhor Religion, because they see the *Pope* makes but a politick robe of it, taking the liberty himselfe to put it on or off, as becomes his occasions.

A
DISCOURSE

Upon the
ELECTION
OF

Pope *LEO* the XI.

IN the *Negotiations* of *Cardinall Peron* may be found a perfect *Journal* of so much of the *Election* of *Leo the Eleventh*, as was possible to be known by one side; to which discourse I shall refer all those that do believe the Pope can be the true *Successor of Peter*: It being incongruous both to prudence & Religion, to imagine the *Holy Ghost* should mingle Interests with the ambitious ends of Princes, who shun no impious means, to make him succeed that is thought the truest friend to their Occasions. I know it is not onely in the power, but the practise of God, to raise his ends out of ill means; Yet it were presumption in men to shape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the *Court of Rome* seeks to make the
people

people believe, that, notwithstanding these Considerations, after the *Masse of the Holy Ghost* is said, he is as really present in the *Conclave*, as he was with the eleven Disciples, when they chose a Successor to *Judas*, who betrayed *Christ*. In which they acknowledge themselves either *Atheists*, or presumptuous *fighters against God*; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their mediation, or hope the *French* or *Spanish Factions* can possibly prevail, one side ever interrupting because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made, sometimes by one, sometimes by the other, which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, then to that of the *Grand Seigneur*.

Here you may see how they labour to hire or force the *Holy Ghost* to fix upon s^oe such subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the troubles in the *Conclave* were rather more than lesse: For the *Cardinals* made Elections so tedious by their towing, that sometimes the *Romans*,
sometimes

sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such constraint, they did often pitch upon *Impotent men*, such as for Age or *Weaknes* were not likely to hold out long (as this *Leo*, who died in few weeks after his assumption) during whose time the Pretenders are at leisure to concoct their *Designes* better; which is ordinarily done by *Bribes*, or in case they prevaile not, by *Poyson*; nay the Devill is not left unsought to: So as *Balzac* saith, *None, on this side the Alpes, labour more to look well, than some of them, to seem sickly and weak;* hoping by that means to obtain the *Chaire* which is able, of a gouty *Cardinall*, to make a sound Pope.

In antient time the *Bishops of Rome* were chosen by the *Parish Priests* of that City; And how, since, *Cardinals* came in, is no more known, (though not antiēt) thā the date of many *Novelties*, that have most shamefully been imposed upō the Church: Yet to this day, no *Ecclesiasticall Cardinal* (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the *Parish Churches in Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or else some other *Bishoprick* or *Dignity*, he hath in *Cōmendā*.

By

By the institution of a former Pope, which for shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the *Chaire* by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many severall sorts of *Simony*? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by *Policy*, mediation of *Friends*, or *Flattery*, to have obtained the Gift of the *Holy Ghost*, should his fault have been lesse, or not rather greater; *Money* being the richest offer he could make, and most suitable to the *Apostles* wants, which he saw others, indued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falshoods, or Nullities; All *Popes* having, for many yeares, entred at one of these Gates? In Civil Kingdoms, the *Crown* is to be obeyed without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiasticall power to these conditions, were to bind the *Holy Ghost* to the *Popes Chaire*.

The *Bishop* of *Rome* laies an absolute claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonstrate the time when he had it; If it were alwaies, the Errors found inherent in the persons were incapable of blame or
retraction.

retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainty, say they, the *Holy Ghost* dictates onely to his *Church*, & such as deny it are *Hereticks*. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first entrance into the *Chair*, as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, than in all his *Raign* besides; yet in the Election of this *Leo the XI* (of the House of *Medici*, and before his Assumption known by the Title of *Cardinall of Florence*) appears no such matter, which would not have been omitted by the penner of the passages of their *Conclave*; being an eye-witnesse & a *Cardinall*, who doth pride himselve much in his fortune, & the policy both he & the French Party had used in his advance. But it may be, *Paul the Fifth*, who succeeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made so great a present to the *Devil*, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the territories belonging unto it: But this was afterwards condemned by himselve as rash & inconsiderate, terms most unfitting a thing done by God. And wise men may here justly take occasion to conclude, that no *Pope* doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For
if

if such a Spirit were an usuall companion of that *See, Paul the Fifth* would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to so little purpose, without the assistance at least of a Revelation.

He that desires to be informed of the *Illness* of Modern *Popes*, may be abundantly satisfied, if he consult Historians, who are not dumb in declaring the *faults* of the *Court of Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the *strict* (or if you will, call them *pious*) *Lives* of a few melancholick *Friars*, it is impossible so much wickedness should not be hooted out of the world.

Yet the *Court of Rome* hath as strong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her truest friends are *Ignorance*, the *Inquisition*, and *Interests* of Princes. The first lies in every particular man to reforme, the second for the most part in the King of *Spaine*, the third onely in God.


Politicall Occasions

Of the

DEFECTION

From the

CHURCH OF ROME.

 Some *Diseases*, and other *Mullets* (but accidentall in the first result/become, after a small *Succession*, hereditary to a *Family*; So *Opinions*, if once inveterate, render their Professours Ears, like those of the *Adder*, deaf to the wiser & more probable *Charmes* of Reason. I come just now from talking with a *Papist*, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old rags of *Tradition*, and inspired with so strong an *Implicit Faith*, that I think it had been one of the nearest things to impossible, for the *Bishop of Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such *Errors* as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater *shew* of *Piety* in the *Church*, than was suitable to humane Frailty, & the comforts of Life: The *Friars Habits* being no less nasty than unseemly

unseemly, and therefore shunn'd by nicer Judgments & those of parts, not so capable of temptation from any thing, as Pleasure & Profit: Or if such *Austerity* was called for, in relation to externall *Zeal* (the parade of all Religions, and fit to be mustered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been led to more *decent Acountrements*, by which they had become sociable unto others, & not loathsome to themselves.

2. Though such *Austerity* was exacted from the *Members*, the *Head*, and *capital Clergie* observed not the like: which alarm'd not onely their Maligners, but those of their own Coat, whose Desert or Fortune had not raised them to the same Transcendency.

3. The admittance of *Printing*, impossible but to prove disadvantageous unto those, whose strongest evidence, for the maintenance of their Power, lay in the Ignorance & Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to informe and disturb.

4. The suffering *Nations* to swell into such *vast Bodies*, as *France, Spain, &c.* The most obtained under the *Churches* presence,

tence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blast Princes titles by the thunders of *Excommunication*, and set the people at odds with their Naturall Sovereigns. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the eight* to find out a Remedy by applying to this proud flesh the powder of *Reformation*: the strength of which made the same Zeal, that swell'd the *Priests* to this height, as ready to tear away the ground frō under them.

5. The mixing a desire of *temporall power* with what is purely *spirituall*, put such an allay upon their *Sanctity*, that it became lesse current, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the *Sword*, which *Peter* only drew (& yet not without a check) in his *Master's* cause, to purchase *Principalities* for their Children & Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to palliate some extemporary mischiefe, do oftentimes contract an incurable inconvenience, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, & *Hierome* of *Prague*: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the *Council of Basil* enacted, That *No Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*: By which they have rendred themselves incompatible

compatible with any other Tenents than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confesse, that upon the accesse of a power sufficient, none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their heads upon the *Block*, or cast their consciences at the Pope's feet.

7. The irrepealable Authority given to the Decrees of all approved Synods, opposeth the *Custom of Nature*, and course of all sublunary things, which are apt to change; no lesse than true reason of State, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advantage: The dispensing with an *unsociable Tenent* being far lesse prejudiciall, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The Pope should have removed at least so many of the *Hundred Grievances*, presented at the *Diets*, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of. The charge & trouble incident to the *Roman Religion* afflicting mens temporalties as much almost as their Falsehood could their Consciences: It being more Policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The

9. The open *partiality* shewed in the affairs of divided Princes: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, & the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit, being wise enough to see, that the same Arts and Power that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt. All strength conjuring up jealousy in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own dispose.

10. The ordinary & slight Provocations the Pope took to draw the dagger of Excommunication: which acquainted Princes too little with the bluntnesse of his Weapons, than the keenness of his Malice. By which they were taught to abate, so much as possibly they could, the reach of his power, lest it should have increased to an universal prejudice, nothing being more notorious than the *Ambition* of the Church, not possibly to be moderated, but by an absolute restraint, & an open discovery of the Arts used to twist the Interests of Christ with those purely their own; a medley of Colours apparent to judicious eyes, with which *Religion* was so daped, that it was embraced by the most, rather out of ostentation than love, or pure zeal, and so not likely to continue long.

11. Had

11. Had he turned the edge of his Ecclesiasticall sword against *Turks* and *Infidels*, which he hath, since *Gregory* the great, chose rather to sheath in the bosom of *Christians* (whose differences, especially if they entrenched upon his Supremacy, he fomented into flames) he might have enlarged the extent of his own Jurisdiction by a supply of new *Profelytes*, who are ever sonder of their *Nurses*, than those whose sharper experience of the Covetousnesse, and Ambition of the Church hath weaned from being so highly pleased with the *Roman Gue-gans*. I confesse it unsuitable to his Interest, to suffer all or the major part of *Christendome* to fall under the jurisdiction of one person, for then his power would be eclipsed, as the Moon, in Opposition; or quite lost, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiscretion, for suffering the *German Empire* to be *Hereditary*: easily to have been fore-seen, when once it fell upon so powerfull a Prince as *Charles the V.* not likely to part with any thing he had once possessed, & now too strongly rooted in the *Austrian Family*, ever to be eradicated but at the cost of a totall subversion either by the *Turk* or *Luthe-*

eccl^l Professors.

12. The severall *Orders* and distinct *Names* they gave the *Friars*, known to breed *Emulation* & *Division* among them; as is evident about the *Conception* of the *V. Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the active *Society of Jesus*, and all the other duller *Fraternities*.

13. *Ceremony* (though the *Body of Religion*, yet) is too weak to bear that *Stresse* the *Priests* laid upon it, who should rather have built upon *faith*, to which nothing is impossible: Considering withall that though *externall behaviour* may add warmth to *zeal*, yet a redundancy of it doth not seldome suffocate & extinguish it, by converting it into *Idolatry*, which is a palpable mistake in the worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing people, be held from clamouring for a *Reformation*; which the *Pope* should ever have prevented by a hasty doing it himselfe: For if once undertaken by the uninterested *Rabble*, they will never leave, till the forme of worship is bruised & beaten out of all comlineffe, so as nothing can satisfie but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no single Age, much lesse that contained

ned in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: *Church Discipline*, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withall: whose materials too neer scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety; by the contemplation of which mens Judgments being once dazeld, they are ever after propense to *Atheisme*, and a prejudiciall jealousie of their Teachers.


14. The *Pope* neglected the prudentiall carriage of a *Miller*, who being supplied with a larger stream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run wast, rather then endanger the subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the *Pope* permitteth the *Ecclesiasticks*, not only to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily & plentifully shower down upon them but connived at the Mists and Thunders they raised in the Consciences of Dying men: By which they became co-heirs almost in every Family. Forgetting that *A great Booty invites Theft*. at best Envy; it being unlikely, Princes should long forbear squeezing such Spunges, out of awfulnessse to Religion, as had no better authority for their drea-

ning their Subjects, than they drew from a forraign power, owned by the most, rather out of Policy than Piety, especially since it was ordinary with *his Holiness* himselfe to make great *Leavies* upon no other reason, than to augment his own, or raise new *Empires* for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of such contingencies bred a neglect of their surer & more legitimate Patrimony, consisting in *Tithes* & unquestion'd *Church duties*; very sufficient to have maintained a number large enough for the loading the patience and conveniency of the most prudent States, without the addition of such vast *Revenues*, not possible to be apprehended but under the notion of things superfluous in the *Church*, since *Christ* in person never owned such Plenty, which made it seem more undecent in him that pretended to be his *Vicar*.

16. *Fallacies* discovered in *Miracles*; which call in question as well those antiently & truly done, as such as are reported to be new. Thus the *pious Deceits* our Ancestors used to bring men to salvation, are not only made stales to catch Profit, but instrumentall to Infidelity.

A
DISCOURSE
IN
VINDICATION
OF
Martin Luther.

E may be suspected of *Hypocrisie*, if not *Atheisme*, that too suddenly leaps out of one Extreme into another; It being impossible for meer flesh and blood, to pull up all at once, a *Religion* rooted by Custom & Education in the Understanding, which must be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordiall welcome. I speak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but those experimented in our times, in which over much hast doth often-times bewray Deceit; As appeared in the Bishop of *Spalatto*, who in my dayes left *Italy* for fear of *Paul the fifth*, his enemy, and reconcil'd himselfe to the *Church of England*, but the old *Pope* being dead, and his *Kinsman* in the *Chaire*, he resumes his former Errors, and

goes

goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promise, he dies miserably. When Falshood is fallen out with for any other respect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to Atheisme, & is so far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worse.

None ever shewed greater signs of Gods Spirit, than *Luther* did; who observed such *Gradations*, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not first led to by the dictates of Conscience: Falling first upon the abuse of *Indulgences*, too apparant an Impiety, to passe by so acute a Judgment undiscovered; From this he ascended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportunity to take notice of remoter and deeper Errors. His *Wit & Learning* having that vast advantage over the stupid Ignorance of those times, that he bare down all before him, without any other *Opposition*, than the contrary Faction was able to raise out of power; much weakened by the desire all *Princes* had, to set limits to the *Pope's* daily *Usurpations*. And as for the *Books*, then writ against him, they did rather sharpen, than blunt the desire of Change. For the *Friars* had so long enjoyed

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joyed a free current of their Doctrine, without interruptiō, that they were more intent on the reaping of such Fruit, as grew from the Errors sown by their Predecessors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the Yoak of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not easie to say, whither they might have wandred. And though *Charles the fifth*, then *Emperor*, to keep his subjects in obedience, did seem to discountenance the *Schism* (as they call'd it) yet he was content to shut up the *Pope* in the Castle of *S. Angelo*: Which proves his small affection, and the truth of this *Tenet*, that if ever *Christendome* falls under one *Monarch*, or turns into popular *States*, the power of the *Pope* will be lost, or confined to *Rome*; being at this day only kept up, like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis objected against *Luther*, That he was too passionate, using irreverent speeches towards some in Authority; Yet so much of this fault, as *Zeal* leaves unexcused, may be imputed to his Education. All can be said, is, He was but a *Man*, and subject to Common Infirmities; And because his ene-

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mies do so often object this, it is strongly to be presumed, his worst fault. I could have wish'd, he had not married a Nun: but I believe he did it to shew People, the Quarrell was irreconcilable, as *Absalom* projected when he polluted his Fathers bed: And in this sense, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the unlawfulness, but the inexpediency of the fact. And to shew, God did not curse his Match (though he might participate of the fate of other learned men, who seldom find their abilities, represented in their Issue, yet) he left three such Sons, as did not give his enemies occasion to upbraid his memory with them.

For the *Reall Presence*, maintained by him in the *Sacrament*, it doth not so much condemn his Judgment in this, as it justifies his Integrity in all the rest: He being as resolute to vindicate what he thought true, against the perswasions of his Friends as he was against the threats and promises of his Enemies: For if any by-respect could have warped him, it would have been a desire to appease the hot Dispute, the retention of this error raised in his own Party, wholly of his judgment but in this particular,

particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian Church* did oppose him. And if this be not enough to wash him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetousnesse, the Proverb used in *Germany* may, That *Poor Luther made many rich*.

As he was protected from a number of apparent mischises, so the same had freed him from many hidden, in respect of the eyes of the world, it being impossible, that he, who had gall'd so many *Grandaees*, should not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every corner: Experience proving, that *Kings* themselves can scarce whisper against the *Court of Rome*, but the *Knife* is ready to give them a finall Answer. His *Death* was with as little Molestation, as his *Life* was full: For being call'd to the County of *Mansfield*, the place of his birth, to determine a Case in controversie between two *Princes* of that *Family*, he died there in the sixty third year of his Age.

Had the *Apostles*, nay our *Saviour* himselfe been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been persecuted by the *Clergy*: Therefore the *Crucifying of Christ* is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart

to stigmatize and whip his Brother, for an Error meerly in Judgment, would never have spared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more visible Authority then they had. But this is not the way to suppress an *Heresy*, since most are jealous of that opinion, which useth the *Sword* for her Defence; Truth having been long since determined to be most strong: And where Oppression is, there for the most part, she is supposed to be. This shews as little Discretion as Charity in such as persecute those, that may be in the Right, or, if not, shall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horse starts, the more he is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way, but let him stand, & have leisure to consider what he blanced at, & he will perceive it is a Block, and so go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudence, to restrain such furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl & fly at all they do not know: But I should be utterly against burning their Books in publick, if they have once gained the light, which only adds to their price, & saves them a labour, because, if the State did not put them in credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while
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for shame, burn them themselves. The *Whip* reforms not so much as him that endures it, but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increasing their animosity, if not their number; So that in effect it proves a punishment to none but the honest and tender-hearted of the people, who cannot choose but be scandalized, to see the Image of God defaced, by *cutting Eares*, and *slitting Noses*, &c. And this raiseth a strong suspicion, that the Hand of Justice would not lie so heavy onely on the *preciser* side, but that something inclines it that may at last turne to the subversion of the most moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they *tolerate all Religions & Tenents*, yet none increased to their *prejudice*, till they strove to suppress the *Arminians*, who are in taste as like the *Papists*, as *Scallions* are to *Onions*, all the difference is, that the latter is the stronger: Yet since they have let them alone, this Opinion is observed to be lesse numerously attended.

Had the *Pope* seasonably reformed the Error *Luther* discovered so apparently, in the publication of *Indulgences*, and rewarded him a *Bishoprick* for his Learning,

ing and Zeal, let him afterwards have said what he pleased, it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing so well, as what goeth crosse to the grain of Authority.

The Lord *Treasurer Cecil*, having been unsufferably abused by *Libels*, sent for the *Poet*, and, after he had rattled him soundly, began to take notice of the poor fellowes good parts, saying, *It might be, vexatious poverty compelled him to make use of false, though common Rumors, given out by such as bated all in Authority*; To ease which he gave him 20 pieces, promising to take the first opportunity to advance him. This favour (most contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have saved the other) did so worke with him, and the rest of the *Pastors* of the time, that, till the *Treasurer's* death, none used the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, used the like demeanour towards some Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, &c.

Clemency seldome causeth repentance in an established Kingdome, or if it proves fault, it is easily mended; Whereas Cru-

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elty can never be recalled, raising a far greater Party out of a thirst of *Revenge*, than ever yet could be mustred up from the hope of *Impunity*.

Therefore to conclude, since *Luther* alone had the power to do so much, let us not be thus severe against others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world; but rather pity them, if they be in an error; Because they something resemble the first Messengers of Truth.



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